

IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 18

March 23-29, 1977

40 Cents

In 1968 the barricades went up in Europe. In Italy they are still there.

Diana Johnstone analyzes the Italian student movement. Page 9.
Alan Bernard Moss on the meeting of Italian, French and
Spanish Communist leaders in Madrid. Page 11.



In this issue

French left gains 3
Elections produce socialist majority

Government revamp 5
Carter rebuilding imperial Presidency

Violence in hockey 18
It's dealing a death-blow to the sport

Lily Tomlin 21
Boogie Lady gives advice

Photo by UPI

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week in July and the fourth week in December by the New Majority Publishing Co. Inc.

James Weinstein
Editor

M.J. Sklar
Associate Editor

Doyle Niemann
Managing Editor

John Judis
Foreign News Editor

Janet Stevenson
Cultural Editor

Judy MacLean
Dan Marschall
David Moberg
National Staff

Jane Melnick
Art Director

Kerry Tremain
Director of Design

Jim Rinnert
Composer

Judee Gallagher
Advertising/Business Director

Torie Osborn
Circulation Manager

Carol Becker
Office Manager

Library Staff: Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Rosswurm.
Bureaus: Claire Greensfelder, Joel Parker, San Francisco; Sarah James, Tim Frasca, Washington; Jon Jacobs, Southern.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs, Arthur Kinoy, Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carloz Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

Main Office
1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622
(312) 489-4444
TWX: 910-221-5401
Cable: THESETIMES, Chicago, IL

Washington Office
P.O. Box 21072, Washington, DC 20009

San Francisco Office
4120 Telegraph Av., Oakland, CA 94609
(415) 658-6754

Southern Bureau
124 W. College Av., Decatur, GA 30030

News Services
Africa News Service, Congressional Quarterly News Service, Editorial Research Reports, Gemini News Service, Internews, Liberation News Service, Pacific News Service, Peoples Translation Service, Reuter, Zodiac News Service.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright © 1977 by New Majority Publishing Co. Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without written permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume any liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes will not be returned. Mail subscriptions, address changes and adjustments should be sent to *In These Times*, Circulation Department, 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$15 annually. Advertising rates sent on request; write *In These Times*, Advertising Department, 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622.

All letters received by *In These Times* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form.

Printed at the Merrill Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.



Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Chicago, Illinois.

This edition published March 23 for newsstand sales March 23-29, 1977.

NEWSFRONT

Who is to judge?

Pornography on trial

There is no evidence, empirical or historical, that the stern 19th century American censorship of public distribution and display of material relating to sex in any way hindered or affected expression of serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific ideas.

—Warren Burger
Chief Justice of the U.S.
Supreme Court

"Yes, they should be banned. They're X-rated, aren't they?" Richard Albrich replied when *IN THESE TIMES* asked whether he thought most X-rated movies should be banned.

Albrich has similar feelings about many magazines. "There is a whole flock of them, maybe 25 or 30, that shouldn't be on the shelves," he said.

Two years ago, Albrich unsuccessfully tried to use the Supreme Court's recent rulings on obscenity, which have made community standards the final criterion to prevent *Last Tango in Paris* from playing in Dayton. In the last year, Albrich has turned his attention to literature.

But while Albrich lost his case in Dayton, federal and local prosecutors have begun to use the new rulings with great success elsewhere. In 1974, a Georgia court ruled that *Carnal Knowledge* could not be shown in Albany. *Deep Throat* lost out in Kentucky. A Memphis court recently sentenced *Deep Throat*'s lead actor, Harry Reems, to five years in jail.

Last year, *Screw* magazine publisher Al Goldstein was convicted in Wichita and was sentenced to serve up to 60 years. And in Albrich's home state, a Cincinnati jury this year found *Hustler* publisher Larry Flynt guilty of obscenity and conspiracy to engage in organized crime. Flynt was sentenced to 7 to 25 years in jail.

Albrich applauds the *Hustler* ruling. He rejects the view that obscenity is covered by the First Amendment. "Our founding fathers never had that in mind," he says. Nonetheless, Flynt's cause has attracted widespread support among writers and civil libertarians.

► *Hustler* no Ulysses.

Hustler is no *Ulysses* or *Lady Chatterly's Lover*, the historic causes for liberal defenders of sexual expression. Its purpose is frankly commercial rather than artistic. And while its more sophisticated counterparts like *Playboy* have attempted at least to appear sympathetic to the rights of women, *Hustler* sees the women's movement and the John Birchers as equal enemies.

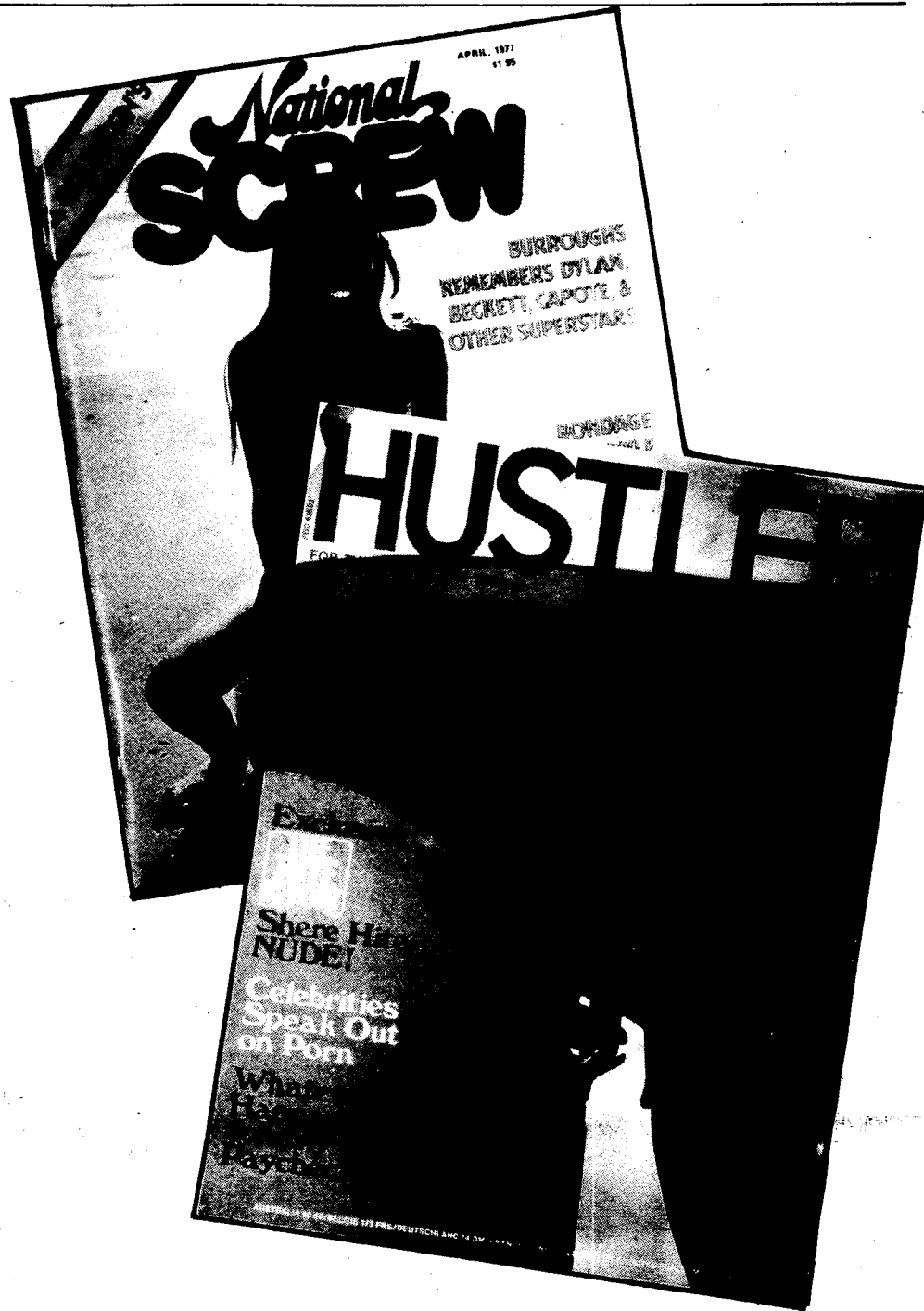
Its April 1977 issue contains a story on Shere Hite, the author of the *Hite Report* on female sexuality, and some nude photos of Hite that were taken in 1968 when she was a model. The author Tim Conaway attacks Hite's book for being "marred by feminist bias." "She apparently couldn't resist pleasing the dykes at NOW," he writes.

Since "her legs and armpits are now furry," the author sees the 1968 photos as "the last vestige of Hite as a woman." But he is quick to point out that even in these pictures "her filthy feet give her a lived-in look."

► A disreputable magazine.

Marvin Schacter, associate executive director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union, sees *Hustler* as a frankly "disreputable" and "anti-woman" magazine, but he nevertheless feels that it "has the right to publish." Schacter sees the Supreme Court's 1973 decision and its application in the Reems, Goldstein, and *Hustler* cases as violations of the First Amendment right of free speech and a free press.

Schacter believes that the First Amendment was intended to protect minorities



from majority approval about what they could read, see, or say. "The civil libertarian concept," Schacter told *IN THESE TIMES*, "is one of the freedom to read. We believe the purpose of the constitutional amendments is to protect the right of people to make their own judgments about the literature or nonliterature they read."

"You can combat ideas you disagree with by combatting them, not by suppressing them," Schacter added.

Poet Susan Sherman agrees with Schacter. In a recent issue of *Cineaste*, she rejected censorship as a means of opposing the way in which pornography "legitimizes sexism." "Censorship laws in this country, although brought in by legislation against films like *Deep Throat*, will never be used against pornography, sexism, or racism in any real way," she says.

Recent decisions, she says, create "legal weapons...against the 'enemies' of the establishment—real erotic and political films and literature..."

Alice Allgaier who teaches literature in Chicago makes a similar point. "Repression of this kind is usually a ploy to further repress sexuality and the kind of creativity that comes out of it," she told *IN THESE TIMES*. While she sees *Hustler* as a "crude form of pornography that is not useful or helpful to most Americans," she sees in other pornography the "beginnings of an art form."

► Minority rule.

In its 1973 decision on *Miller vs. California*, the Burger court made two important changes in the obscenity law that opened the way to the present rash of cases.

Where the Warren court had allowed literature to be censored only when it was "utterly without redeeming social value," the Burger court substituted the criterion of whether "the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic,

political or scientific value." In writing the majority opinion, Chief Justice Burger gave as his only example of "serious" literature on sexuality "medical books for the education of physicians and related personnel [that] necessarily use graphic illustrations and descriptions of human anatomy."

Where the Warren court had cited the "average person" as its measure of whether a work was "utterly without redeeming social value," the Burger court makes "contemporary community standards" the ultimate arbiter. This means that individual communities can decide according to their own values.

In his opinion, Burger defended this new ruling: "It is neither realistic nor constitutionally sound," he said, "to read the First Amendment as requiring that the people of Maine or Mississippi accept public depiction of conduct found tolerable in Las Vegas or New York."

Schacter of the ACLU pointed out to *IN THESE TIMES* that this ruling has had an opposite effect from what the court intended. It means that a jury in Wichita can send a publisher to jail by enforcing its community standards, and can make it impossible for him to publish anywhere. "It really means," Schacter explained, "that what is acceptable to the lowest common denominator is acceptable to the society as a whole."

In fact, the law has led to "venue-shopping" by federal prosecutors who scour the country for cities that will hand down convictions. *Screw* has a negligible circulation in Kansas, but the government created one by sending four postal inspectors money orders with instructions to take out subscriptions.

This is a process from which the Richard Albriches, once a strong majority and now increasingly a minority in American life, can take heart. If you can't beat them in Dayton or New York City, then try Wichita or Memphis.

Did Goldwaters break the law?

Goldwater may be invited to a few less cocktail parties on the Republican circuit and there may be some eyebrows raised, but the stories aren't going to stop what has been going on.

By Sam Kushner

Phoenix. A team of investigative reporters from around the nation came here following the gangland-style murder last June of Don Bolles, a local newsman who had probed too deeply into crime and corruption in Arizona. Organized by Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc., the team was determined to respond to Bolles' murder by furthering the investigation of crime and corruption that he had been working on. Last week, scores of newspapers began running the results of that team investigation—some 24 articles, totaling over 80,000 words.

The first of the articles focused on the Goldwater family—Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater and his brother Robert—and their relationship to organized crime in the state. But even some of those who were close to the investigation believe that the flurry of publicity surrounding the investigation and its charges will do little to change the situation locally.

"Barry Goldwater may be invited to a few less cocktail parties on the Republican circuit and there may be some eyebrows lifted for a while," says Lupe Sanchez, one of the key assistants to the newsmen in their probe of the Goldwater-connected Golmar Corp. But the stories won't "stop the Golmar Corp. from doing what it's doing now."

►Widespread violations.

IN THESE TIMES recently talked with Sanchez about his role in helping to uncover widespread violations of U.S. labor and immigration laws by Golmar. According

to Sanchez, the month-long investigation revealed, among other things, that:

- Undocumented workers are in widespread use on Golmar operations.

- Workers are very often paid less than half the legal minimum wage and payrolls are doctored to credit them with less than the actual hours worked in the fields.

- Powerful industrial and political figures sit on the Golmar Board of Directors, which has also included persons from the "Chicago and Tucson mafia." There is the possibility of the use of political influence to further Golmar interests.

- Golmar has an international system of labor recruitment through "coyotes" who bring workers across the border. They also send undocumented workers on to Idaho and Oregon after the citrus season ends in Arizona.

- Death, hunger and beatings are all part of the scene for workers at Golmar and other nearby ranches, both as they try to come across the border and after they have "made it."

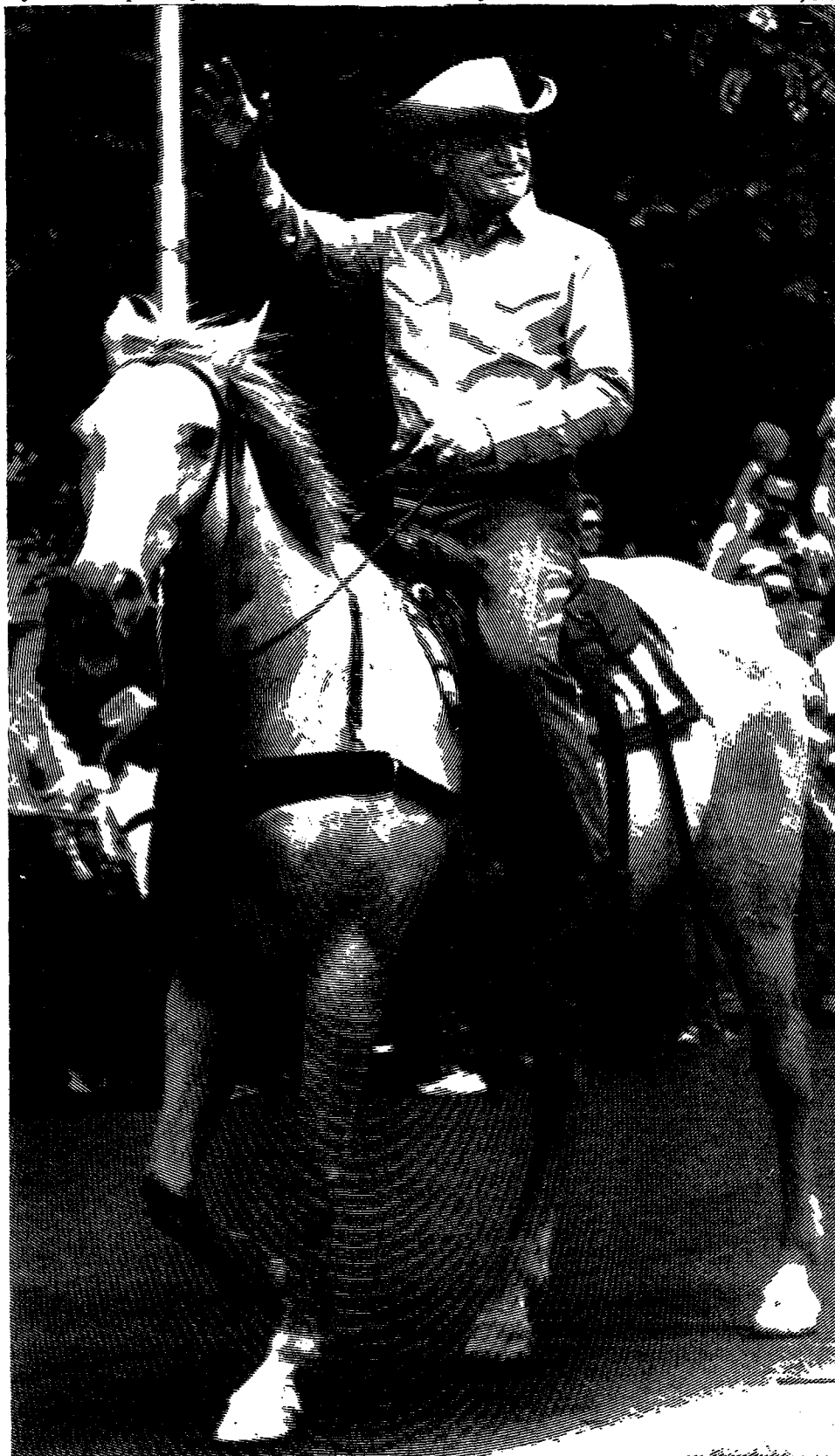
Sanchez describes how Golmar sends out the word that it needs workers and "in a week the company has the 350 workers it needs for the citrus crop." "Undocumented" workers pay "coyotes" \$100 or more for transportation from Nogales, Mexico, to the local farms. This money, Sanchez says, is often deducted directly from the workers' pay.

"Once the worker gets here he is given an ID card that he uses to cash his checks and a piece of plastic that he strings up between two trees in the grove. That is his home. He is also given a false social security

Continued on page 20.

The investigators found widespread violations of law by the Golmar Corp., a joint enterprise of the Goldwater and Martori families.

Photo by UPI



Left wins 32 major French cities

By Bernard H. Moss

Paris. From now on investment bankers dining out at Maxim's for \$200 a plate will have to sip their bubbly with mixed emotions. Reims, the capital of France's champagne region and political stronghold of champagne bottler Jacques Taittinger, has elected a Communist mayor. Reims was one of 32 major cities conquered by the united left in the first round of municipal elections that dealt a severe setback to the government of President Giscard d'Estaing and Premier Raymond Barre.

The elections confirmed the solid progression of the left since the signing of the Common Program in 1972 to a majority position in the country. A survey of votes in major cities indicated a left majority of 52 percent to the government's 47 percent, slightly better than the majority obtained in last year's local cantonal elections. The advance of the left, which was general, was most spectacular in Catholic regions of the east and west where such traditionalist cities as Angers, Brest and Cherbourg were taken.

More important than the size of the left vote was its quality. For the first time since 1972 Communists and Socialists advanced together, ending the discrimination to which the Communists have been subject. Unity lists headed by Communists generally did as well as those led by Socialists. In the few cases of primary contests between Socialists and Communists, the latter did almost as well as the former.

In the naval port city of Toulon, the Communist list, supported by local left Socialists, did considerably better than the official Socialist list, headed by the mav-

erick Vice-Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti.

Overall, however, it was a vote for the common program and left unity.

►Gaullists ahead in Paris.

The gains were less considerable in Paris where voters were diverted by the well-publicized personality contest between Gaullists and Giscardians and by the presence of a list of ecology candidates. In the capital, which has not had a left majority since 1900 and which in recent years has lost most of its working class population, the hopes of the left were slim. Yet, despite a gain of 4 percent since 1971, the possibility of gaining a majority in the city council with a minority of votes, raised by opinion polls, seems now excluded.

The "Battle of Paris" between the two

FRANCE

The municipal elections thus confirm that a decisive change has occurred in French opinion, that the left has crossed the threshold of an absolute majority. Whether it uses anti-communist scare tactics or Madison Avenue style self-promotion, the present government appears powerless to stop the consolidation of a left majority.

major factions of the present majority, Giscardians and Gaullists, resulted in a defeat for the French president, who had wanted to reduce the influence of the Gaullists in his government. Despite an extremely costly American-type publicity campaign waged by the Giscardians, complete with bandwagons and pretty faces, the Gaullists lists, headed by Jacques Chirac, led in most sectors of Paris. While the election did not give Chirac the triumphant victory he was seeking in his effort to combat the left, it did demonstrate the enduring attachment of the old middle class to the populist nationalism represented by the Gaullists.

►Ecologists decisive role.

On the second round the arbiters of the

elections in Paris will be the ecologists, who received 10 percent of the vote. Although most of the ecology candidates come from the extreme left, they have refused to throw their support to either the right or the left. Advocates of no-growth and a return to nature, the ecologists stand in philosophic opposition to a left that believes that economic growth and technological progress, including that of nuclear energy, will be essential for improving the quality of life for all.

Yet, despite this philosophic opposition, the ecologists know that they can expect a greater concern about the environment from the left than from the right, which has fostered real estate speculation and the construction of high-rises and super-highways in Paris over the last 20 years. For these reasons, most of the ecology voters, mostly young professionals and students, are expected to support the left on the second round.

The municipal elections thus confirm that a decisive change has occurred in French opinion, that the left has crossed the threshold of an absolute majority. Whether it uses anti-communist scare tactics or Madison Avenue style self-promotion, the present government appears powerless to stop the consolidation of a left majority.

Still, the results of the first round, because of the large number of abstentions and ecology voters, did not produce a landslide for the left. The margin of victory is still slim, perhaps too slim to insure the success of a governing majority. In order to guarantee the success of the Common Program, the united left will have to mobilize new forces and reach out to new groups in the year ahead.

IN THE NATION

New hope for Wilmington defendants

By Bob McMahon

A five-year nightmare of imprisonment and fear of imprisonment may soon be coming to an end for ten North Carolina civil rights activists, known as the Wilmington 10.

Convicted of arson in 1972, the ten had received record prison terms averaging over 28 years each.

The Ten then spent nine months in prison, only to be released on appeal bonds of \$300,000, (posted by the United Church of Christ). For the next two and one half years, they carried on their lives under the shadow of prison and the courts.

Ben Chavis, 29, had been a field organizer for the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice. After his release from prison on bail he moved to Washington, D.C., to head the Commission's office there, and began graduate studies in religion at Howard University.

Anne Sheppard, 39, divorced, mother of three, the only woman and only white among the defendants, moved to Raleigh. There she met and later married Lewis Turner, black, a former inmate active for prison reform.

Eight of the ten—Marvin Patrick, Connie Tindell, Wayne Moore, Reginald Epps, Joe Wright, William Ear Vereen, Jerry Jacobs, and Wayne Moore—were high school age at the time of the trial. After their release, several got jobs, while others completed their high school education and went on to college. Jerry Jacobs married a school teacher. Joe Wright became engaged to a fellow student at Talladega College.

Then on Feb. 1, 1976, the nightmare closed in again. As the courts rejected their appeals, the Ten returned to prison.

On the outside supporters waged a dogged campaign using both legal and public pressure, charging that the Ten had been framed to silence their activism.

September brought the first important break in the case. Allen Hall, star prosecution witness in 1972, announced that his testimony had been perjury, committed under pressure from police and the district attorney.

Further disclosures over the next six months supported Hall's claims. Public pressure mounted to re-open the case. In February of this year U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell, responding to a Congressional Black Caucus request, announced a Justice Department probe into possible violations of the civil rights of the Wilmington 10 by public officials.

►Began in school protest.

The Wilmington 10 affair began in January 1971 as black high school students in Wilmington, N.C., walked out of class. As the school boycott gathered momentum, local church leaders called Ben Chavis to Wilmington to provide the students with experienced leadership.

The immediate spark for the boycott had been a refusal by white school officials to honor Martin Luther King's birthday. Other black demands included courses in black history, more black teachers, a black guidance counsellor and an end to the practice of disciplining blacks more harshly than whites for the same offenses.

The Wilmington protest was typical of dozens across the South. Black schools throughout the South were being closed down, their pupils "integrated" into historically white schools. Thousands of black teachers were laid off. In North Carolina alone, the number of black principals fell from 620 to 170. Black students often found their new school environments full of discriminatory treatment.

The demands of the student protests that followed might seem moderate now, but state and federal officials then dealt with the civil rights activism as a revolutionary threat. Protest leaders like Ben

Chavis was known as a firm, effective bargainer and a leader with the prestige to take command and set up a disciplined organization with well-defined goals. For exactly those reasons he was framed and jailed.



Ben Chavis

Chavis found themselves constantly in state or federal courts, on charges that seldom stuck but nevertheless drained the energy and resources of their movement.

Nowhere was white resistance more absolute than in Wilmington. Since 1898 the city had been a symbol of militant white supremacy. In that year a white mob—backed by a newly-elected Democratic governor—forcibly overthrew a city government of white Populists and black Republicans, and went on to burn the Negro section of town, killing hundreds.

Memories of 1898 dominated white and black responses as the 1971 protests unfolded. White officials refused to hear black demands. Armed Klansmen began cruising the black community, sniping at the student boycott headquarters in Gregory Congregational Church.

Four days of violence followed. The students armed in self-defense. Wilmington authorities refused repeated black requests to impose a curfew and to keep armed whites out of the black neighborhood. A student and a Klansman were killed, others were wounded, and several buildings burned before the state finally intervened.

►The trial: perjury?

Over a year later Chavis, eight students, and Anne Sheppard Turner were charged with burning Mike's Grocery, a white-owned store near the church.

Allen Hall, black, then 19, was the key witness against the Ten. At the trial Hall painted a vivid picture of Chavis, with a suitcase filled with firearms and dynamite, telling a meeting of 100-150 at the church about the "Chicago strategy" of setting a business on fire and ambushing police and firemen who came in response.

Hall described how he and the black defendants, led by Chavis, had gone to firebomb Mike's Grocery and lie in wait for police. Anne Sheppard Turner, he claimed, voiced support as they made their preparations.

Hall now says that his testimony was all lies, that he was solely responsible for the firebombing, but was coached to implicate Chavis and the others by prosecutor Jay Stroud, local police, and a federal agent.

The prosecution approached Hall, he says, while he was held on another rioting charge, and obtained his testimony by a mixture of threats, promises, and tales that Chavis had threatened his family.

Since he recanted, Hall has reported a

series of threats on his life by Klansmen, police, and prison officials. He was recently sentenced to two years in jail for breaking into a house, allegedly while fleeing a carload of whites who were pursuing him. He has also attempted suicide while in jail.

Prosecution officials deny Hall's story. They point to apparent inconsistencies in his account, and argue that he has a history of mental instability. But as one local editor notes, they are in the embarrassing position of attacking the credibility of their main witness.

►New witnesses.

Testimony during the past several months from previously silent participants in the Wilmington events has supported Hall's denial of his trial testimony.

Rev. Aaron Johnson, former staff member of the N.C. Human Relations Commission, has revealed that the Commission's files, not available to the defense at the trial, gave an almost hour-by-hour account of events in Wilmington—an account sharply at odds with Hall's testimony.

About a month after the trial, Johnson says, these files vanished from the Commission's Raleigh offices. The director of the Human Relations Commission, Ron Ingle, was fired after confirming to the press that a "gap" appeared to exist in records covering the crucial period in Wilmington. State authorities investigated Johnson's story, and produced a report concluding that the files in question never existed. Johnson, however, stands by his account.

Johnson says the Human Relations Commission welcomed Chavis' presence in Wilmington. They knew him as a firm, effective bargainer and a leader with the prestige to take command and set up a disciplined organization with well-defined goals. They feared that without such leadership the black protest might fall into individual, spontaneous acts of violence.

Johnson's picture of Chavis as an organizer was confirmed by the white pastor of Gregory Congregational Church, the Rev. Eugene Templeton.

In the early stages of organization, Templeton reports, Chavis talked a lot about non-violence. Later, when the students decided to arm to meet the white attacks, it was clearly understood that this was "a defensive maneuver," and tight discipline was maintained.

Templeton and another new witness,

Patricia Rhodes, a black social worker now living in Philadelphia, deny the account Hall gave at the trial of the night the store burned.

The church was nearly empty that night, they report. In the parsonage next door, Chavis and several other defendants were part of a group meeting to discuss how to get a curfew that would stop the vigilante attacks on the church. The group was still talking when they looked out and saw the store ablaze. Chavis stayed in the parsonage the entire evening.

Aaron Johnson reports the Human Relations Commission staff, fearing political reactions, resisted complying with defense subpoenas until it was too late to testify.

Templeton and Rhodes both left Wilmington a few days after the siege of the church, fearing continued attacks. Templeton and his wife flew down to North Carolina for the trial, but left without testifying when they heard a rumor that they would be arrested if they appeared in Wilmington.

►Second witness recants.

At the trial, Hall's testimony was corroborated by two witnesses, Jerome Mitchell and Eric Junious.

Mitchell testified that he saw the defendants leave the church and move off toward the grocery, and later saw them return. Junious confirmed that Anne Sheppard Turner was at the church that night.

In a March 7 appearance before a grand jury called as part of the federal probe of the case, Mitchell recanted. He reported he had lied on the stand after being promised a light sentence on a conviction for armed robbery and second-degree murder, as well as other favors by prosecutor Jay Stroud.

"He said he could take care of me and I'd get out in six months time," Mitchell said. "And he didn't come through with anything."

Junious, 13 at the time of the trial, has stated that he was given a minibike and a job in return for his testimony.

Stroud denies any deal with Mitchell. He admits giving Junious the bike as a present, but maintains it was not a bribe and was not promised before the trial.

►Future course in doubt.

Stroud was also questioned by the federal grand jury. Afterwards, he told reporters that he thought the federal attorneys probing the case were trying to "implicate him in a conspiracy to get Ben Chavis and the rest of the Wilmington 10."

What comes next in the Wilmington 10 affair is up in the air. On the basis of Hall's claim of perjury, defense attorneys have filed an opposing brief maintaining Hall was telling the truth in 1972. A hearing is scheduled May 9.

Griffin Bell and N.C. Attorney General Rufus Edmisten have scheduled a meeting in Washington March 23 to discuss the federal review of the case. Edmisten has said that he will base a final decision of whether to oppose a new trial for the Ten on the results of the federal probe and a parallel state investigation.

Supporters of the Ten have generally reacted cautiously to the federal intervention. Chavis himself told one paper that "if there is any hope for justice in the Wilmington 10 case, it will be through federal intervention. The state is still very vindictive... the justice system in North Carolina is racist to the bone."

James Ferguson, chief defense attorney, still expresses skepticism about how much will come of Justice Department intervention. He notes that the federal authorities were not immune to the racist hysteria that convicted the Ten in 1972.

Bob McMahon is a free-lance writer in North Carolina.

GOVERNMENT

Reorganization essential to maintaining control

Governmental reorganization is apparently an idea whose time has come. Richard Nixon made the reorganization of the administrative branch one of his more enduring contributions to the art of government. The Bureau of the Budget was transformed into the Office of Management and Budget, as Nixon's friend Roy Ash suggested.

A super-advisor for domestic affairs was appointed, to play the role that the national security advisor plays in foreign affairs. The "new Federalism" changed the relationship between Washington and the states.

Nixon, in short, attempted to fashion an "administrative presidency," one stopped only by his extraordinary blunders during the Watergate affair.

Jimmy Carter sounds very much like Richard Nixon when he talks about governmental reorganization. Carter made it a fundamental point of his campaign to change the administrative branch as he proudly claimed to have done in Georgia. Governmental bureaus were portrayed like Communists used to be—to be eliminated by ruthless action.

In his appointment of Bert Lance as head of OMB, Carter sounded exactly like Nixon, who similarly praised Roy Ash. At the moment, Carter is trying to win approval for a plan to allow the President to change the administrative structure, checked only by a provision that Congress could veto any moves within 60 days. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano (who earlier presided over Lyndon Johnson's attempts to control the bureaucracy) has already announced a major reorganization of his department.

►A fundamental change.

At one time Cabinet secretaries announced policy; now they propose changes in organization charts. Something fundamental seems to be taking place, yet there has been almost no analysis from the press or from television about the underlying economic and political forces which are making governmental reorganization an urge that transcends party politics.

Throughout most of this century, questions of the organization of government have been highly partisan. The expansion of the presidency was part and parcel of the Democratic Party, while a strong Congress was key to Republican ideology.

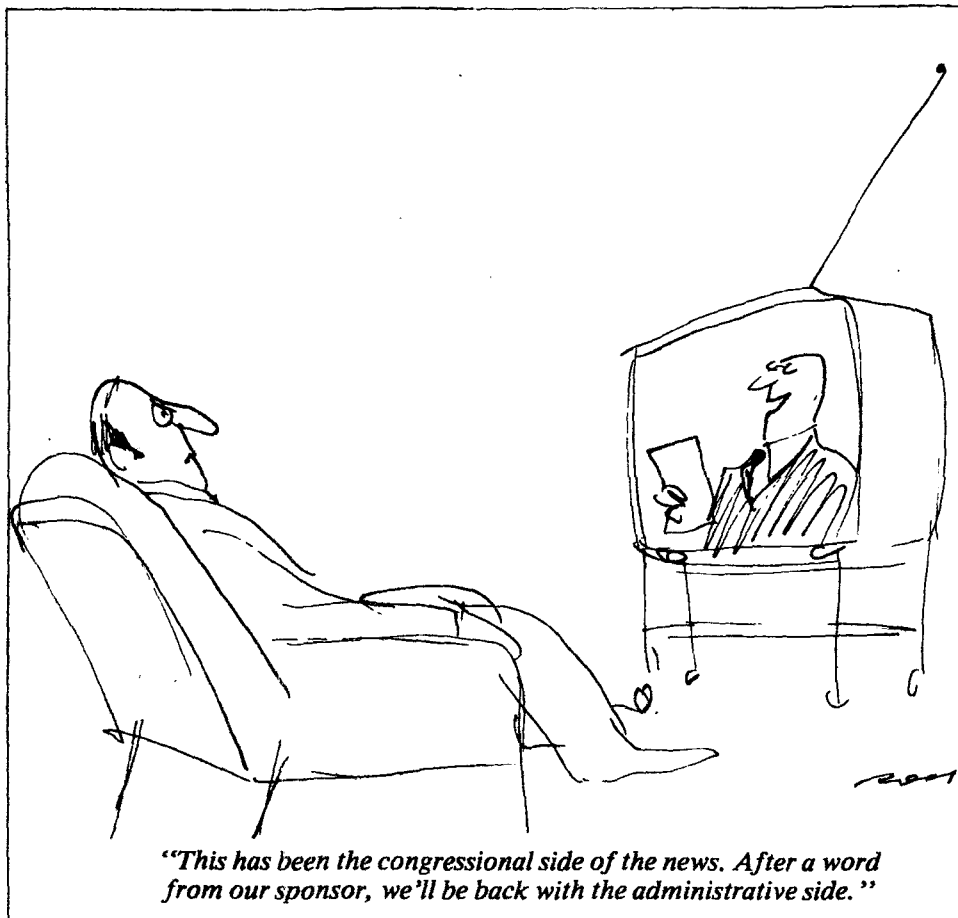
The century began under Republican domination of both House and Senate, while future Democratic presidents like Wilson could only write books from the sanctity of university offices bemoaning the bad effects on the country of Congressional tyranny.

The major steps in the expansion of the administrative branch were taken by Democrats. During World War I, Wilson created offices like the Committee on Public Information or the War Industries Board—dismantled by the Republicans after 1920. Facing the lack of a strong executive when he came to power, Roosevelt appointed the Brownlow Committee which spoke, in the strongest terms, about the need to fortify the executive branch. Truman expanded the national security powers of the executive, and Kennedy came to power based on a reading of Richard Neustadt's *Presidential Power*, the most fawning adoration of the executive branch yet written.

During the 1960s, prominent Democratic intellectuals adopted a neo-Hamiltonian perspective on this question: the executive must be strong to guide the country, while Congress was inherently parochial, irresponsible, stagnant and partisan. The notion of a strong presidency was basic to the liberal perspective.

►Nixon adopted the liberal program.

This partisan pattern was changed under Nixon. Unlike his Republican predecessors in this century, Nixon made no attempt to put power back into the Congress. Indeed, he strengthened the liberal



program of a strong president like no Democrat was willing to do. What was the reason for this change? The answer transcends Nixon's idiosyncracies and goes to the heart of fiscal, political and ideological forces operating in the state in the postwar years.

Public policy during the New Deal was fashioned in what is often called a "clientelist" manner. This means that major private institutions of power were brought into the public realm by being vested with exclusive jurisdiction over affairs which concerned them directly. The American Farm Bureau Federation, for example, came to dominate the policy process toward agriculture by turning the entire Agriculture Department into a constituency for its interests. The Interior Department adopted as its clients mining, forestry and other western industries. Later the Defense Department became the chief lobbyist for the military-industrial complex.

In other words, a major trend in recent public administration is the device of having private power centers control various sectors of the state to advance their interests. The clash of forces that was supposed to happen in the marketplace occurred in the public arena instead, with each key unit attempting to maximize its access to public funds.

►Economics changed the picture.

One predictable consequence of clientelism was that the state tended to expand under pressures from all these different directions. There was no single institution that could say no to any powerful vested interests.

For much of the postwar period, a veto power was unnecessary. As long as the economy was growing at a rapid rate, increased state expenditure did not constitute a drain on the economy. The only way that clientelism could work, in short, was under conditions of increasing expansion of the GNP with only moderate inflation. These conditions came to an end in the late 1960s.

By 1967, the Phillips Curve had come to an end, which meant that inflation and unemployment, instead of working against each other, began to go up together. Stagflation had set in, and once it did, the clientelism model was in serious trouble.

With the economy no longer expanding, and with inflation reaching serious proportions, the growth of state agencies and unchecked grants to irresponsible private agencies became a problem. Governmental reorganization was seen as the way to handle the problem.

The Nixon administration came to power at a time when the existence of a veto power on the growth of state spending was becoming essential.

►Presiding over the Cabinet.

Nixon fought hard for such a veto power. According to Richard Nathan, who worked within the Nixon administration as an advisor to Daniel Patrick Moynihan, his strategy was "to take over the bureaucracy and to take on the Congress..."

This meant appointing weak men to Cabinet positions so that they could not advance the interests of their clients. As one commentator has put it, the modern President must rule, not with his Cabinet, but over his Cabinet.

In addition, it meant impoundment, the veto, and the use of all other steps to render Congressional initiative meaningless.

Finally, it meant that OMB would, as its title suggests, *manage*. OMB would not simply provide technical expertise to policy makers but would be a policy-making place itself. Indeed, it would be the policy-making place, the center of the stage for domestic legislation. Who controlled OMB controlled the state.

With power centralized in the executive branch, choices could be made and the fiscal irresponsibilities of the clientelism approach could be brought under control.

Just as he did by going to China and adopting wage and price controls, Nixon stole the Democratic Party's thunder with his reorganization plans. He also created a

serious problem for the Democrats under Carter, for he damaged the legitimacy of their key platform: strong executive leadership. Thus Califano wrote in his book *A Presidential Nation* that Nixon suffered, not from too much power, but from too little.

The Brookings Institution has taken it upon itself to reinvigorate the notion of a strong presidency in the post-Nixon atmosphere. Califano writes that the one man who he worked with under Johnson that understood the need for strong executive action was Charles Schultze, a Brookings man and now Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors. Richard Nathan went from Nixon to Brookings, where he has recently written a plan for executive leadership, noting that "the Hamiltonian model of a strong executive was greatly damaged by Mr. Nixon and the men around him."

The problem for the Democratic Party is to reclaim presidential power given the disrepute which Nixon had contributed to the idea.

►No choice for Carter.

It is already clear that the Carter administration has no choice but to expand the administrative presidency along Nixonian lines. OMB will continue to expand its policy-making role. In addition, Nixon's dream of a super-Cabinet will probably be resurrected. Graham Allison, who works for Brookings, has written that the best device to control the Cabinet would be an *ExCab*, which he defines as a super-Cabinet composed of the four most powerful departments: State, Treasury, HEW, Defense—maybe, shortly, Energy.

ExCab would become a domestic National Security Council, in Allison's opinion, providing the centralization for domestic policy that he sees as fundamental.

Unless checked by Congress and by popular opinion, the Carter administration will increasingly be drawn toward Kissingerism—but not restricted to foreign policy. The point is that the state of the economy does not allow for haphazard policy making.

Rationalization, administration, and implementation are the new buzz words. Behind governmental reorganization lies the contradictions of capitalist expansion and contraction. Carter can only manage those contradictions, not resolve them, and his attempts to streamline government are the best instruments he has to realize that purpose.

Alan Wolfe writes regularly for *In These Times* on political affairs.

ELECTIONS

John Lewis second in Atlanta primary. He will be in run-off on April 5

John Lewis, former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Voter Education Project, has assured himself a place in an April 5 runoff election to decide who will represent the Fifth District of Georgia in the U.S. Congress (ITT, March 16). Lewis, who polled 28.4 percent in a March 15 nonpartisan election, will face Atlanta City Council President Wyche Fowler, who polled almost 40 percent in the runoff.

Lewis' supporters, many of whom had despaired of their candidate making the runoff, were jubilant when the final results were in. "I'd given up hope," one Lewis worker told this reporter the day after the election. "But we did better than we had expected in a lot of places."

Lewis, who was running with the support of Atlanta's black Leadership Consortium, had begun the races as the favorite, but had seen his lead slip away as the Consortium proved unable to hold the black community in line.

The defection of the approximately 18 percent of black voters who voted for

white candidates was blamed on this lack of political community. According to raw vote totals available as we go to press, Lewis made the runoff by attracting more votes than expected in North Atlanta, thus relegating liberal Republican Paul Coverdell to a poor fourth showing in the non-partisan race.

Despite exhilaration over making the runoff, the Lewis campaign knows that it has an uphill fight to win the Congressional seat. One campaign worker who is developing white support for Lewis told *IN THESE TIMES*, "We've got to really consolidate our black support and build up the white. We know we've got to get some of those Coverdell votes."

Since Fowler needs only to increase his vote totals by about 10 percent to win and Lewis would need to pick up almost 23 points, even Lewis' most ardent supporters are viewing soberly their April 5 prospects.

—John Jacobs
Southern Bureau

LABOR NEWS, VIEWS & BLUES



In the Coachella Valley several hundred farmworkers greeted the latest developments with enthusiasm, viewing the agreement as an instrument that will help them make the Coachella Valley a UFW domain in the coming months. Some long-time UFW activists remains skeptical. They remember previous "peace" treaties between the two unions that were broken by the Teamsters.

Photo by UPI

Teamsters, UFW end 7-year seige

By Sam Kushner

On March 10, the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO and the Teamsters union unveiled a jurisdictional agreement in Burlingame, Calif., that may end a decade of battle between the two unions over the state's farmworkers.

The sight of UFW president Cesar Chavez standing side by side with Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons was strange indeed. Just a few years ago, Fitzsimmons had declared that "as far as I'm concerned—as a trade unionist for 47 years—Cesar Chavez is not a trade unionist. I wouldn't even let him be janitor in a trade union office."

But all was sweetness and light at the Burlingame meeting.

In a sense, the announcement was anticlimactic.

The Teamsters had already closed their offices in the agricultural communities and dozens of organizers had been laid off. (ITT, Feb. 9). To all intents and purposes the nation's largest union had already abandoned its campaign in the California fields.

The cost to the Teamsters of its seven-year campaign to wipe out Chavez's union has been high, more than a million dollars annually. The lack of worker support has also been obvious. In spite of widespread management assistance the Teamsters have been able to win only 115 representation elections since the inception of the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, while the United Farm Workers, which had to buck both the growers and the Teamsters, have come out with 197 victories. At the Burlingame press conference, M.E. Anderson, director of the Western Conference of Teamsters claimed his union represents 20,000 farm workers at peak season. Chavez put his peak season membership at 40,000.

Another issue bothering the Teamsters before the agreement was reached was UFW challenges. Several months ago, as an act of "good faith," the UFW had declared a moratorium on two large lawsuits against the Teamsters and the growers, pending the outcome of negotiations. In one lawsuit, based on the Teamster-growers agreement in 1970 that effectively shut out the UFW from organizing the traditionally militant and decidedly pro-UFW lettuce workers, the UFW demand-

ed some \$120 million in damages. The UFW charged that the Teamster-growers collaboration was in restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and that a conspiracy existed to fix wages and to set terms of employment.

The other major lawsuit was filed by the UFW as a result of the Teamsters activity in conjunction with the growers in the grape fields following the 1973 UFW contract expirations. The UFW charged violations of the civil rights of Chicano, Arab and other workers in the fields and alleged a Teamster-grower conspiracy to deprive UFW members of their First Amendment rights, the right to picket, and other rights. The UFW asked for \$86 million.

According to UFW general counsel Jerry Cohen, future action on these cases "will be discussed on their merits" and that "no deal was made on these suits in the jurisdictional agreement." He said that the latest UFW-Teamsters agreement "provides that the UFW will not file further lawsuits based on past actions."

The five-year agreement provides for the Teamsters to maintain jurisdiction over all workers who are covered by the National Labor Relations Act. This excludes agricultural workers. The UFW, on the other hand, will have jurisdiction over all workers covered by the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act. Almost all of those ranches presently under contract with the Teamsters will remain so until the expiration of the current contracts. The Teamsters may also continue to bargain for a few ranches it now has under contract, according to Anderson.

There is some indication that the UFW may seek to administer some of the present Teamster contracts in the fields in view of the fact that there are no Teamster Union field offices and no organizers to enforce contract provisions.

In a joint statement at the press conference, Chavez and Anderson said that the present antagonism between the two unions is "contrary to the best interests of the worker," adding that "they are an impediment to the advancement of the overall welfare of the worker; they are disruptive of maximum labor solidarity; they divert energies and time which could otherwise be directed toward unionization of the unorganized worker and the ultimate achievement of the united labor movement to which all organized labor aspires."

They also noted that the inter-union conflict "engendered actions on numerous fronts which have pitted the parties against one another" and that "legal actions and conflicting legislative positions have drained resources and diluted the power which could have been expended to secure further advancement for workers, the goal to which each of the parties subscribe."

Despite all the talk about mutual interest, some long-time UFW activists remain skeptical. They remember previous "peace" treaties between the two unions that were broken by the Teamsters. There is a little more optimism that this pact will actually work. In the Coachella Valley, several hundred farmworkers attended a hurriedly-called UFW rally on the day the agreement was announced. They greeted the latest development with enthusiasm, viewing the agreement as an instrument that will help them make the Coachella Valley a UFW domain in the coming months.

But there were also warnings in the Coachella Valley, 100 miles north of the Mexican border, that those who wore Teamster badges and who had harassed the UFW were still to be reckoned with. On the day the pact was signed in Burlingame, Johnny Macias, laid off Teamster organizer who formerly headed that union's staff in the Coachella area, announced the formation of the Independent Union of Agricultural Workers, which he said had "plenty of money" and which claimed the support of 49 organizers in Imperial County, Coachella Valley and throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

Macias, known as "yellow gloves" during the turbulent 1973 days in Coachella when Teamsters union goons had assaulted UFW members and supporters, declared he will seek to bring all but two Coachella ranches into his organization.

The UFW, meantime, is challenging the concept of this new organization, claiming that it is in fact not a legitimate labor organization within the meaning of the state law.

At the same time Les Hubbard, spokesman for the Western Growers Association, making the best of a bad situation for the growers, announced that the showdown between the UFW and the growers is at hand and predicted that it would be easier for the growers to get the farm workers to

vote for "no union" in future elections.

While all this jockeying was going on between the UFW, the Growers Association, and the Independent Union, the UFW was entangled in a battle with the Agricultural Labor Relations Board. This dispute started last summer in an election at Royal Packing. The Teamsters won the election, but that election was later overturned because of company intimidation. On the eve of a second election, a new union, which UFW organizers charge was company inspired intervened. At first, ALRB agents ruled that it was not a labor organization under the meaning of the law. But this ruling was reversed by state ALRB officials.

When the election took place, the company union won 108 votes, the UFW 62, no union 14, and there were two votes for Macias' union, which had also been allowed on the ballot. The UFW filed a variety of unfair labor charges.

On March 1, two days before this election, farmworkers had marched to the ALRB office in El Centro, Calif., to protest the placing of the company union on the ballot. Not satisfied with the ALRB's answer, the demonstrators sat in. Twenty-nine UFW members were arrested by the state police on the orders of Harry Delizonna, counsel for the ALRB.

To stop further such actions, the ALRB sought an injunction against the UFW limiting the number of persons in an ALRB office to 10. The UFW was not notified in advance of the court action (in violation of a California Supreme Court decision). The ALRB dropped the case, however, when the UFW requested that Delizonna be subpoenaed for the court session at which the temporary injunction plea would be heard.

After the Royal Packing election on March 3, the UFW began picketing ALRB offices throughout the state. In San Diego county Chavez sat in the ALRB office for five hours. The ALRB apparently thought better of its earlier action and no further arrests were made. Even while Chavez was making his historic "peace" announcement in Burlingame, dozens of farmworkers were sitting in ALRB offices throughout the state.

While the UFW has gotten rid of the Teamster threat for the time being, it still fears having to face a network of company unions if the Royal Packing decision is not overturned.

LABOR NEWS VIEWS & BLUES

Compiled by Dan Marshall



Photos from the exhibit "On the Job" by the Illinois Labor History Society.

Setting limits for lead

On March 15, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) opened hearings on proposed standards for lead dust and fumes in the nation's workplaces. The regulations suggested by OSHA "merely sweep under the rug the real problems of lead poisoning," says Bob Holt, vice-chairperson of CACOSH, the Chicago Area Committee on Occupational Safety & Health.

"Its proposed standards would stop only the most obvious cases of the disease, those workers who become acutely ill, and would do nothing for the thousands of men and women who are suffering the slow effects of lead exposure," Holt says.

Lead poisoning is an insidious disease that affects all people in an urban environment to some extent. In addition, the government estimates that over 1.5 million workers are directly exposed to lead on the job.

Lead is most often breathed by a worker in dust or fumes, though it can also be absorbed through the skin. A blood test is most commonly used to determine the level of concentration in the body. As the lead level slowly builds, it causes fatigue, irritability, constipation, insomnia, loss of appetite and a host of other symptoms. Serious internal damage can result even if the outward signs are not that serious.

Women and blacks are most susceptible to the harmful effects of lead poisoning. Women workers with a relatively low level in the bloodstream have been found to have "an increased incidence of abortion, higher numbers of deformed children and more children who will die before the age of one year," CACOSH says. Black workers suffering from sickle cell anemia and a certain enzyme deficiency are at high risk from the anemia producing effects of lead.

But women and blacks should also not be "protected" from lead exposure by excluding them from certain jobs, CACOSH points out. The National Organization of Women (NOW) agrees. Rather, lead standards should be low enough that all workers are protected. "If we let OSHA set standards that do not protect ALL who are affected by the toxins in the workplace—women, men, fetuses, and sperm—in-

dustry will be given another legal excuse to eliminate women from the workplace," states NOW's Labor Task Force.

CACOSH and NOW demand that the standards be set at 30 micrograms of lead per 100 milligrams of blood, the level before serious physical damage is done. (City dwellers have an average of 20 micrograms in their blood from auto fumes and air pollution.) The government is proposing a standard of 60 micrograms per 100 milligrams.

To win its demands, NOW hopes to begin a letter-writing and petition campaign directed at the Secretary of Labor. CACOSH has started a comprehensive program in the Chicago/Gary area that includes educational efforts, assistance for lead poisoned workers in receiving compensation, and a fight against company doctors who have covered up lead poisoning cases.

Workers democracy conference

Workers' self-management, a long-accepted concept in the workplaces and corporate boardrooms of Europe, is quickly gaining adherents in the U.S. On April 1, the Association for Economic Democracy will kick off a three-day conference in Detroit to discuss workers' participation, job humanization and workplace democracy.

After the conference, the Association says it will choose three midwestern cities to set up pilot projects of worker-run offices or plants. Four such projects are now operating on the east coast.

Founded three years ago, the Association believes that industrial democracy—the participation in and control of management by employees—presents a viable solution to meaningless blue and white collar jobs and to high rates of unemployment. Their fourth international conference will be held this September in Paris.

The Detroit conference will feature an impressive array of speakers. Dennis Eardley, secretary of the Central Council at Britain's largest worker-run enterprise, will discuss workers' participation in that country. Jan Olsson of the Swedish Metalworkers union will talk about job humanization at Volvo. Conference organizers expect about 500 participants from trade unions, community groups, business and academia.

The conference will also include media presentations. The Dayton chapter of the New American Movement will present a slide show on working class sentiments in the city. Films about Volvo and European workers' participation will also be shown.

For more information, contact: Betty Plank, Special Action Affairs, Columbus Catholic Diocese, Columbus, Ohio 43215. Phone (614) 228-1110.

U.S. labor and Chile

How deeply was the American government involved in the military coup that overthrew Chile's Salvador Allende in September 1973? That question was raised anew this month when Brady Tyson, a U.S. delegate to the United Nations, expressed his "profoundest regrets for the role some government officials, agencies and private groups played in the subversion of the previous democratically elected Chilean government..."

The Carter administration immediately repudiated Tyson's statement and summoned the delegate back to Washington for a quick refresher course in diplomatic procedure.

In early February, the current practices of Chile's military regime was also the topic of an exchange of letters between AFL-CIO president George Meany and Sergio Fernandez, Chile's Minister of Labor. Fernandez appealed to Meany as an "unwavering and outspoken defender of human rights" to help secure the release of Huber Maros, a jailed ex-revolutionary leader in Cuba, in exchange for the release of a Chilean communist leader.

Fernandez claimed that the Chilean repression denounced in "worldwide Marxist propaganda" is actually "legal measures aimed at impeding the spread of Marxist terrorism in the country."

To George Meany's credit, he refused to buy Fernandez's hypocritical appeal. The viewpoint of the AFL-CIO has always been marked by a "singular objectivity," Meany replies, "the defense of human rights and trade union freedom" in Chile. Meany called for the full restoration of trade union freedom and human rights in the country and the cessation of the "various forms of interference, repression, and harassment..."

Meany's position on Chile appears to conform to the highest moral standards, but some observers find his words very ironic. Several studies and numerous articles have concluded that the AFL-CIO actually helped lay the groundwork for the military coup. This was done through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

Founded in 1962, the AIFLD trains Latin American trade unionists and funds social projects, like housing developments, for unions that agree with the AFL-CIO perspective. It was formed after the Bay of Pigs fiasco, when John F. Kennedy decided to give the AFL-CIO government money so that "the talents and experience of the U.S. labor movement could be brought to bear on the dangers that Castro...might undermine the Latin American labor movement." About 95 percent of its funding comes from the Agency for International Development (AID) and from the multinational corporations represented on its board of directors.

From 1962 to 1972, the AIFLD trained over 8,000 Chilean trade unionists in the AFL-CIO brand of anti-socialist, anti-communist unionism, these studies charge. AIFLD trainees played important roles in the economic disruptions that severely weakened the Chilean economy during the Allende years, including the



1973 truck-owners strike. They also participated in the maritime unions, the professional associations, and employer groups that provided the most militant opposition to Allende.

A year after the coup, when Gen. Pinochet had neither restored trade union rights nor released AFL-CIO-style unionists, the Executive Council denounced him as a "militaristic and oppressive ruler."

"It ill behooves George Meany to deplore the loss of civil liberties when groups that the AFL-CIO and the CIA financed helped to overthrow the democratic government of Allende," comments Sidney Lens, an author and former trade union organizer. "The AFL-CIO leadership always supports democracy in the abstract while working with the CIA to destroy it in life itself."



West Virginia wildcat strikes protest mine dangers

Wildcat strikes continued to spread through the Appalachian coal fields in early March, idling 40,000 of the 125,000 bituminous miners in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). In northern West Virginia 17,000 miners in UMWA District 31 walked out over Eastern Associated Coal Corporation's removal of a union safety committeeman.

The roots of the West Virginia dispute go back to last December, when Eastern removed David Morris from the safety committee because he had declared that a communication failure in one mine placed the workers there in imminent danger. Morris' co-workers agreed that it was too dangerous to work when communication with the surface was disrupted. The union filed a grievance against his removal. In late February, the arbitrator upheld Eastern's action. This provoked a strike that quickly spread from UMWA Local 1570 near Blacksville, W.Va., to the rest of the state.

Some of the miners in Local 1570 assert that the district's leadership did not aggressively pursue the grievance that triggered the strike. District leaders were ap-

parently aware of a possible conflict of interest with the arbitrator that could have led to an appeal of his decision. Union members charge that the arbitrator's past affiliation with Eastern Coal tainted his ruling.

Bobby Regan, Local 1570 Secretary, placed the real blame on the coal operators. "The companies are provoking the strikes, they know what will send the workers out," he says. "The company tries to divide those workers who are concerned with work conditions and those who are worried about the interruption of income."

In other parts of the state, miners wildcatted over company abuse of the seniority rules and over changes in sick leave policies.

In southwestern Pennsylvania, mine supervisors expelled a union safety committee during a mine inspection, touching off a strike of several thousand miners.

The wildcats indicate the importance of the local right-to-strike issue in this year's UMWA contract negotiations.

Information from Dennis Boyer, Blacksville, W.Va.



KIMMEL © 1977 IN THESE TIMES



The FBI campaign against women

By Sidney Blumenthal

Part II

"My Dearest Sisters," wrote J. Edgar Hoover to a group of Maryknoll nuns in upstate New York who were fearful about the subversive intentions of feminists. "I have received your letter of May 27 with enclosures and understand the concern which prompted you to write. I appreciate your thoughtfulness and kind sentiments." The nuns were disturbed by the appearance of two feminists at Mary Rogers College, where they taught.

The feminists, identified by the nuns as "members of the Women's Liberation Front," had been invited by a professor the nuns suspected of having "some sort of connection with the UN." The Maryknoll sisters wrote Hoover with some pleasure that "the sisters were ready and gave [the feminists] a hard time.... Their talk followed the party line." The nuns also collected the literature the feminists distributed and mailed it along to the FBI Director. "God love and keep you all in the FBI," the sisters wrote reverently.

The FBI did not need such free-lance efforts to keep tabs on developments within the women's liberation movement (dubbed "WLM" by the Bureau). Extensive documents recently released under the Freedom of Information Act revealed an FBI program of spying on feminists from 1969 through 1973.

At J. Edgar Hoover's instigation the FBI sent informers into feminist groups, clipped newspapers that printed information on the movement and created dossiers on individuals who joined a wide spectrum of groups ranging from those supporting the Equal Rights Amendment to lesbian separatist organizations.

►Dangerous "women talk."

Hoover tended to see all social movements emanating from a common conspiratorial source, and most FBI agents attempted to buttress the aging director's views. Much of the material the Bureau accumulated on the "WLM" was perfunctory—briefings from informers on meetings, reports about the surveillance of feminists and notes about speeches made at public gatherings.

The veracity of the details the FBI garnered were never checked. One report

At J. Edgar Hoover's instigation the FBI sent informers into feminist groups, clipped newspapers that printed information on the movement and created dossiers on individuals who joined a wide spectrum of groups ranging from those supporting ERA to lesbian separatist organizations.

about a Boston group, for example, states "[Name deleted] advised that Bread and Roses is a Communist Party USA oriented group which adheres to the interpretations of Marxist-Leninist theory as outlined by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Despite the FBI informer's insistence, Bread and Roses was not accepting instructions from the Kremlin. It was an early feminist group, with loosely defined socialist politics, and mainly engaged in what used to be called "consciousness raising." Another informer's report noted, "most of the discussion [at a Bread and Roses meeting] was general 'women' talk with little political discussion." Although this information seems to undermine the previous report both were duly filed in FBI records. In the Bureau's view, "general 'women' talk" might easily be classified as something "outlined by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

While J. Edgar Hoover was primarily preoccupied with the "WLM" intent to embark on violent subversion, FBI agents themselves occasionally strayed from this mission. At the Women's Rights Day rally held in Boston in 1970 agents carefully recorded that speakers emphasized the "need for daycare centers, equal employment opportunity and revision of welfare programs." One of these speakers was, they were sure, "a subversive." Details about the content of the speeches at the rally is scanty after that assertion. "Midway during the rally," the agents wrote, "male onlookers were diverted to a nearby fountain which had been taken over by female bathers." Were the agents referring to themselves?

►Concern with appearance.

Across the country, in Eugene, Ore., the FBI had planted an informer at the Pacific Northwest Women's Conference in 1970. The account of the meeting the FBI received expressed disapproval about the dress of the participants. "The women, in general, appeared to be hippies, lesbians, or from other far-out groups," the informer wrote. "Most of them were very colorfully dressed, but the majority wore faded blue jeans. Most seemed to be making a real attempt to be unattractive. The majority probably were from upper-middle class backgrounds. Some homosexual delegates openly expressed their tendencies in public. One of the interesting aspects of the delegates' dress was the extreme fuzzy appearance of the hair of the majority of them. Someone said this was gotten by braiding their hair in tiny braids and leaving it that way while it was wet until it dried. Then they would take out the braids. From the looks of their hair, they really didn't bother to try and comb it out afterward." Such were the unpatriotic crimes of feminists.

The most dazzling coup of the FBI intelligence effort conducted against feminists was the styming of a planned disruption of the 51st annual Women's National Republican Club luncheon at New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in 1972 by five women. A cable from the New York FBI office to J. Edgar Hoover assured him that "potential pandemonium" had been avoided due to "very professional investigative work."

Informers inside a New York feminist

organization apparently told the FBI that five women intended to attend the luncheon where Pat Nixon, Nelson and Happy Rockefeller, and John and Martha Mitchell would be present. The women planned to make speeches denouncing Rockefeller's handling of the Attica prison uprising and President Nixon's conduct in continuing the war in Indochina. Then each of the protesters would release two rats hidden in their handbags. "The luncheon proceeded without incident," however, the FBI local office informed Hoover. The feminists were stopped at the door by watchful agents. There is no word in FBI documents whether the rats secreted in the women's purses were discovered, but an agent writing to Hoover did state, "During the course of the afternoon six rats were discovered in the hallways and telephone booths of the hotel and disposed of by the management." The FBI neglected to tell Hoover who the rats were talking to on the phone.

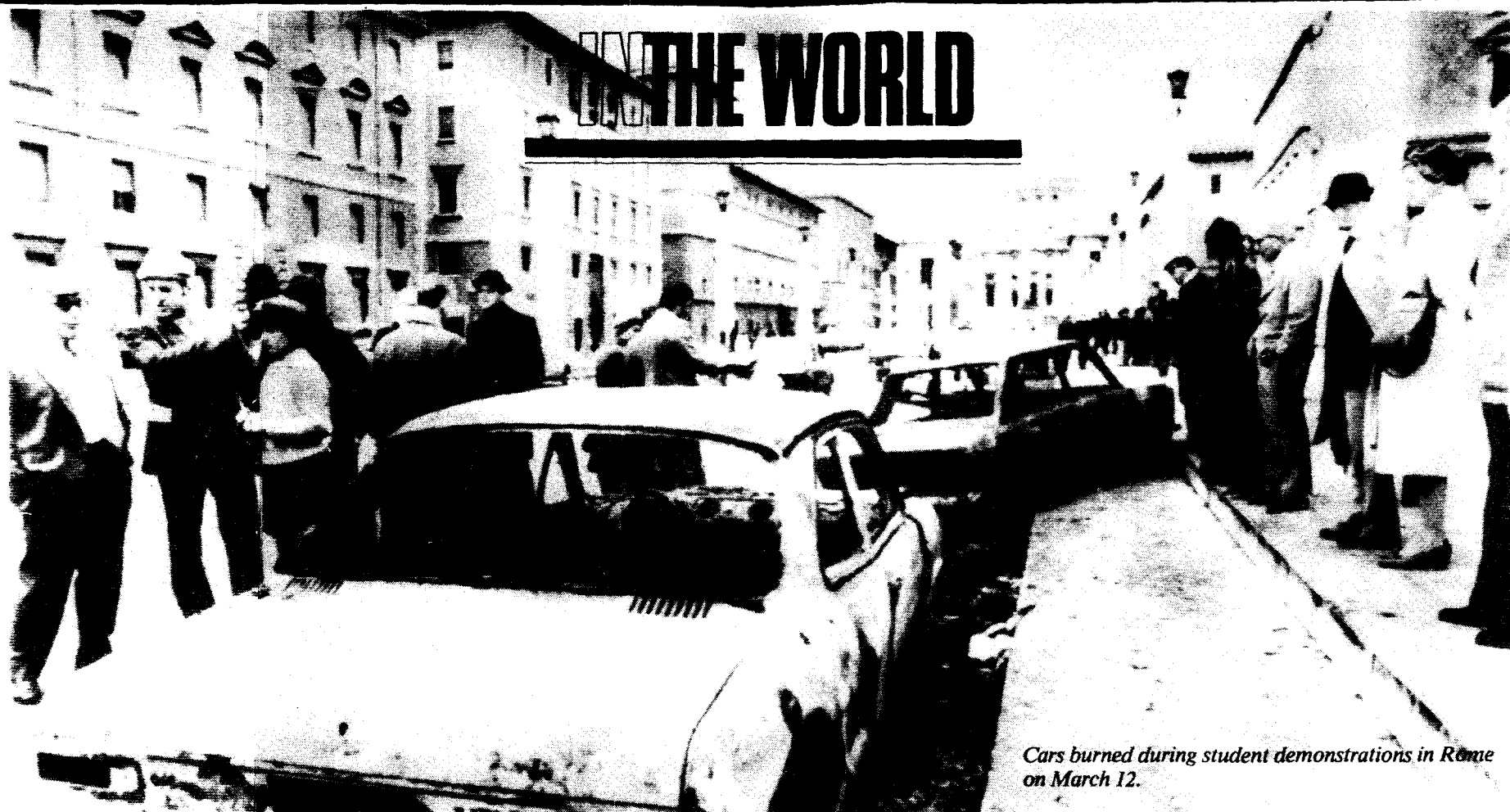
►Ended in 1973 by Gray—supposedly.

In January 1973 FBI director L. Patrick Gray terminated the Bureau's "WLM" mission. The San Francisco and Chicago FBI offices had been reluctant to spy on feminists initially, and from reports from other offices it appears that at least some agents were relieved to finish this assignment. The Boston office, for example, sent Gray a cable stating, "The following [names deleted] have advised that they have no current information concerning the Women's Liberation Movement. In view of the fact that no pertinent information has been developed in recent months concerning WLM further inquiry appears unwarranted at this time." Not a single criminal action had been uncovered by the FBI's surveillance of feminists.

L. Patrick Gray was deeply involved in other, more pressing matters by then. During the month the FBI intelligence program against feminists ended the Watergate burglars were convicted. The month before, on Christmas day, Gray burned sensitive documents about the White House Plumbers' activity given him by E. Howard Hunt. Because of this action he would resign in disgrace.

(Last of a series.)

Sidney Blumenthal is the editor of *Government by Gunplay* (New American Library).



Cars burned during student demonstrations in Rome on March 12.

Photo by UPI

Italian students take to the streets

By Diana Johnstone

In Italy, the revolutionary upsurge of 1968 has been going on for ten years. This month it was back where it started—in the universities.

The new student movement began in the first days of February at the Universities of Palermo and Naples and spread rapidly up the peninsula. What set it off was a circular issued by Public Education Minister Franco Maria Malfatti announcing his program for reforming higher education.

Its main features are the creation of new degrees corresponding to the needs of industry and the social services, along with abolition of studies that have been irrelevant to such needs; the introduction of a two-year period of professional apprenticeship following graduation; and a complicated tracking system in the secondary schools forcing an early choice of specialization plus an extra written exam at the end of secondary school.

Like the reforms in France proposed to undo 1968, the Malfatti program pretends to meet the growing problem of diplomas that are useless on the job market by tailoring university programs according to the needs of that market. Estimates vary, but today some two million young Italians are out of work, and close to half of them may have degrees.

But the students are not taken in: Malfatti belongs to a government which is doing nothing to expand that job market, but on the contrary, is pursuing a policy of austerity meant to shrink it. Thus tailoring the university to suit the job market envisaged by this Christian Democratic government can only mean eliminating large numbers of students.

Furthermore, the supposed practicality of forcing students at an early age into narrow job-related specializations is a snare and a delusion in an unplanned economy where employers are notoriously unable to predict well in advance just what skills they will require and in a period when flexibility is frequently the best asset for avoiding unemployment.

►City Indians.

The job situation being as bad as it is in Italy, a number of young people reasonably prefer spending a few years of their unemployment enrolled in a university, taking courses that interest them. The Malfatti reform would end that. It would also cast into the ranks of the unemployed quite a few *precari*—badly paid (about \$120 to \$200 per month) research and teaching assistants whose jobs are as precarious as they sound.

This adds up to a considerable univer-

sity population whose future outlook is bleak and which feels it has little to lose by raising hell over yet another blow aimed at further reducing their prospects.

The 1968 student movement occurred when the industrialized countries had been enjoying a long prosperity, against the background of heroic Third World struggles. The students were mostly of bourgeois or middle class origin, challenging the values and purposes of their class and their education and trying to make contact with less privileged sectors of the population. Today, many of the students are less privileged themselves, and they have been joined in the militant occupation of the universities, especially in Rome, by unemployed youths from the working class suburbs who like the atmosphere and have added to it in color or in violence.

The most colorful are the "city Indians"—who sometimes paint their faces for the warpath and during the past months have shown surprising creativity in the "autoreduction" movements, for instance lowering cinema prices by arriving en masse and paying less. No doubt influenced by the political effervescence of Italian society while rejecting any political party, these young people have found ways of getting together to protest publicly against a society of production and consumption that largely excludes them from both activities.

The violence seems to be largely the contribution of the "workers' autonomy" current, which is not only outside political parties but fiercely hostile to them. It is this "autonomous" factor that sets off '77 most strikingly from '68 and points to serious trouble for the left.

While 1968 drew a lot of previously unpoliticized young people into the then-blossoming extra-parliamentary left groups, and perhaps from there into the Italian Communist Party (PCI), in 1977 the so-called "autonomous area" is being expanded by disillusioned or even vengeful ex-militants of Lotta Continua (Constant Struggle), Avanguardia Operaia (Workers' Vanguard) or other far-left groups. Their greatest resentment seems directed against the PCI and the trade unions following the line of the "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, as showed up dramatically on Feb. 17 when Luciano Lama, secretary general of the communist-led General Confederation of Italian Labor (CGIL) was driven off the grounds of Rome University where he had come to speak.

►The attack on Lama.

"In Cile i carri armati, in Italia i sindacati" ("Tanks in Chile, trade unions in Italy")—such slogans, taken up in chorus

by the new student movement, seem to have shocked and baffled the PCI. The decision to send Lama to Rome University to establish a "unity" striking by its absence was, in retrospect, tactless to say the least. The invitation to the CGIL leader was issued on Feb. 15 by a meeting of some 200 members of the PCI youth organization from the law school and hotly debated the next day in a large general assembly, which voted down the "autonomous" call for a physical confrontation with the "revisionists," deciding on a verbal confrontation instead. "Workers' autonomy" agreed to respect this decision.

Just in case, Lama arrived the next morning for his speech surrounded by an impressive number of sturdy trade unionists. Laying down the law to the unruly youngsters, Lama told them it was necessary to "give rational and real objectives to a protest which otherwise risks remaining a nihilistic refusal, a furious and exasperated reaction to the grave problems of the university."

The workers and unions backed the students' protest, he said, but demanded a "constructive" discussion of reforms. "We want a different university which exalts the commitment to study, to deepen students' knowledge. To change, the country needs the qualified contribution of technicians and intellectuals. The energy of youth must not be wasted, on the contrary it is necessary to transform anger and protest...into a positive political will to renew society."

This did not go over very well. All at once, several hundred "autonomous" youths, armed with clubs and fire extinguishers and forgetting the commitment they had made the day before, charged the truck Lama was using as a speakers' platform, beginning a brawl which ended later in the day when police took over the university. The CGIL people got away quickly, while the majority of students looked on in disgust.

►Disarray on the far left.

The situation illustrated precisely the sort of political decadence and social disintegration PCI leaders have been warning must result from keeping the country stalled motionless in crisis but which they themselves appeared unable to deal with effectively in the crunch. The incident was the first serious warning to the PCI of the damage to its credibility wrought by months of vain exhortations to the Christian Democratic government of Giulio Andreotti in the name of an "historic compromise" that looks extremely one-sided.

The PCI could find itself in worse trouble yet if it allows its well-founded alarm that the "autonomous" collectives may

spawn a new wave of extremist violence, playing into the rightist "strategy of tension," draw it into close identification, not only with the Christian Democratic government's economic austerity, but also with its repression.

The PCI's difficulties in the face of the new student movement are exacerbated by the disarray of the far left parties—a condition due largely to its own electoral success. In 1968 and the years after, the PCI was to some extent sheltered from the wrath of impatient youth by the very Marxist-Leninist parties that criticized its "revisionism" while at the same time channeling the energies of thousands of young people into various movements with defined political aims.

Today, both PDUP and Avanguardia Operaia are both splitting over whether to merge, and above all over what strategy to pursue in regard to the PCI. The Manifesto contingent of PDUP led by Lucio Magri and Rosanna Rossanda and a minority of AO apparently see their possible role as one of prodding the PCI away from its doomed attempt at an impossible "historic compromise" towards a left-wing coalition, while a minority of PDUP and the majority of AO would want to form an alternative revolutionary party in opposition to the PCI. In Italy as in France, the far left is in crisis not only over strategy, but also over militant practice, with a rank-and-file rebellion, especially among women, against being "manipulated" by leaders.

This climate of rebellion is evident in the new student movement, which has as yet no clear political leadership or direction.

Italian Communists have been quick to see in the violence of the *autonomi*, in their "negative and mystical solidarity," as one of them put it, in their rejection of the work ethic and the labor movement, a new sort of fascism infecting the lumpenproletariat. The "autonomy" movement is in the line, not of Marxism, but of certain American movements current in the '60s, notably the Weathermen, whose sabotage manual is being published in Italy now. Such groups which reject political leadership and glorify original and spectacular group actions are obviously open to infiltration and manipulation by agents of the "strategy of tension."

The PCI is getting ready to clash with them in the name of "positive and constructive" programs which have as yet to materialize. The immobilism of the Christian Democrats seems to be doing its work of dividing the adversaries of the system and setting them at each other's throats.

Diana Johnstone is a journalist in Paris, who writes a newsletter called Owl.

PALESTINIANS

THE MIDEAST'S NEW JEWS?

Part II of IV

"The Israelis are making war on our right to live"

By T.D. Allman
Pacific News Service

Bardala, West Bank. In the two Palestinian villages of Bardala and Tel el Bejda, the long Arab/Israeli conflict has taken a turn for the worse.

Just a few years ago the most significant thing about these two villages—located in the central Jordan River valley near what until 1967 was the West Bank's northern boundary with Israel—was that, in spite of four Arab/Israeli wars, the thousand or so villagers had made some progress.

At Tel el Beida a modern irrigation system had doubled the crop yields. At Bardala, the villagers had constructed a municipal water system that piped drinking water to each household.

Now the irrigation system at Tel el Beida is a ruin of dusty culverts. At Bardala the pipes are dry, and the village women, as in the days of Turkish rule, once again walk over half a mile to fetch drinking water and then laboriously carry it back to their houses.

The source of their misfortune is the nearby Medah cooperative farm: a new Israeli settlement of modern housing surrounded by high fences where 30 families now live.

A year after the Israeli army swept through the area, Israeli engineers surveyed the two Palestinian villages. Then, in violation of Jordanian law—which Israel as the occupying power is obliged by the Geneva convention to respect—the Israelis drilled a new and deeper well only a few yards from the Palestinian well.

The villagers complained to the military government, but to no avail. The Israelis not only denied them permission to drill an artesian well to compensate for their lost water but refused to sell them water from the Israeli settlement.

Such situations are far from rare a decade after Gen. Moshe Dayan told his troops, "Soldiers of the Israeli Defense Forces, we do not aim at conquest." The Israelis have established some 84 settlements in Arab territories occupied in 1967, according to American Friends Service Committee figures.

►Land confiscation and forced emigration.

Under Israeli occupation, the Arab population of the Golan Heights seized from Syria has been reduced from 130,000 to 13,285. As a result of Israeli policy in

lands seized from Jordan, some 200,000 Palestinians have been forced to emigrate to foreign countries.

Even within the densely populated Gaza Strip, where nearly 450,000 Palestinians are compressed into an area of 120 square miles, the Israelis have confiscated nearly 100,000 acres and established four Jewish settlements.

In the highland above the Jordan valley, the new Allon Road runs the length of Samaria through lands from which all traces of Palestinian settlement are being systematically eradicated. Palestinian cisterns have been sealed. Palestinian croplands have been defoliated or transferred to Israeli settlers. Since 1967, in fact, the Israelis have confiscated some 80 percent of the arable land abutting the West Bank of the Jordan River.

Along the highway running north from Jericho toward Galilee, where Palestinian fields once bloomed, the Israelis have created a desert. One passes dozens of dismantled irrigation stations and miles of fences barring the Palestinian population from lands they once cultivated.

For the Palestinians, such systematic destruction of Arab farmlands is a clear sign of Israeli intentions. They believe the Israelis are not merely seeking military security but creating political conditions in which the Palestinians will be unable to establish a viable national state of their own.

"I have seen the Israelis watch a farmer double his output," an American trained development expert said, "and then seize half his land. Their aim is to keep the Palestinians an impoverished people."

In the Jordan valley village of El Makhrak, a Palestinian farmer pointed to the Israeli barbed wire and desolate fields beyond. "they have taken away three quarters of what my father willed to me," he said. "I fear my sons will be landless laborers, forced to wander strange lands."

At Bardala, a Palestinian landowner pointed to the Israeli well. "No guns are being fired," he said, "but the Israelis are making war on our right to live. We could dismantle their well some night," he added, "but then the soldiers would come. They would deport our elders and imprison our sons. They would tell the world the terrorists have struck again."

Early this year Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon ordered intensified Israeli settlement of Occupied Territories.

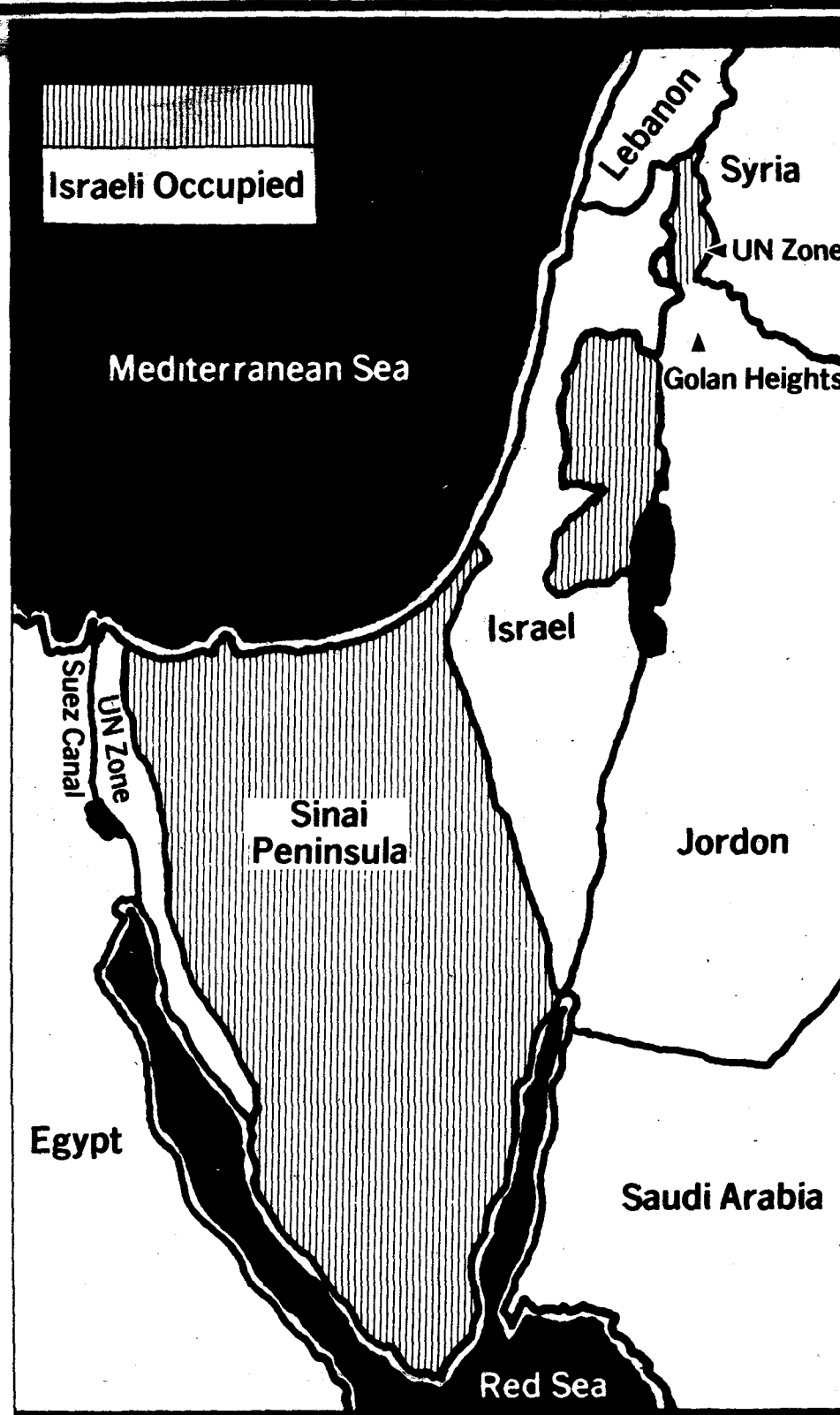
If the Allon plan were implemented, the lands left to the Palestinians—whether they formed an independent state or were linked to Jordan—would comprise three small, truncated regions: Samaria, Judea and Gaza, all largely or entirely cut off from each other, hedged in on all sides by Israeli troops, guns and barbed wire.

►Dual standard.

Palestinian suspicions are inflamed not only by Israeli policy but what they consider an unending pattern of Israeli provocations.

In the Gaza Strip, where the population density exceeds 4,000 persons per square mile, Israelis have been permitted not only to establish businesses employing cheap Palestinian labor, but to live there if they wish. But Palestinian laborers working in Israeli territory are not permitted to live where they work. Instead, they must spend many hours daily traveling to and from Jewish areas.

The Palestinians of Gaza are obliged to pay Israeli taxes, but they do not receive Israeli social benefits. And while Israeli products are allowed free entry into the Occupied Territories, Palestinian products are not permitted to compete with



Israeli goods inside Israel.

Such Israeli policies—not just in Gaza but throughout the Occupied Territories—have produced an ironic result. Designed to make the Palestinian population more pliable, they instead have helped to radicalize local politics and win for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) a degree of support it did not enjoy before 1967.

"If there is any complaint against [PLO head] Yasser Arafat, it is that he is too moderate," a Palestinian journalist recently observed.

When Israel permitted West Bank elections a year ago as required by the Geneva convention, candidates openly supporting the PLO won every contest—even though several of the most popular West Bank leaders were under political detention, and one likely winner was deported before the vote was held.

And in Gaza, where demands for elections even by the conservative Israeli-appointed mayor Rashad El-Shawa were denied by the Israeli government, no one now disputes that free elections would produce an overwhelming victory for the PLO.

Late last year, the Israeli military governor of Gaza, Brig. Gen. David Maimon, outlined plans for the future of the strip. Whether or not Israel ultimately withdrew from Gaza, Gen. Maimon said, the strip would be surrounded by fortified Israeli settlements, including a number established in former Egyptian territory.

Gaza would be denied any territorial contact with other Arab territory, and its population would be permanently quarantined from the surrounding Arab lands. Any possibility of the Gazans ever returning to the lands from which they had fled, or receiving compensation for property lost to the Israelis, was categorically excluded.

"Gaza," an American official stationed there later commented, "is a place where one's nose is constantly being rubbed in the dirt. Periodically, the Israelis pick up one of my employees and make an example of him, just to show the Palestinians

they cannot look to the international relief agencies for protection. The last time they took one of my employees, they tortured him by forcing his own shoe down his throat."

►"Inmates of Gaza."

For many Palestinians, water-starved villages like Bardala and the defoliated farmlands along the Jordan conjure up a future in which, as a Palestinian agricultural expert employed by a U.S. relief agency put it, "We will all become inmates of Gaza strips, if the Israelis have their way."

"The Palestinians complain all the time," remarked Medah Cooperative member Hillel Wiseberg. "They forget all their progress is due to us. This is our land," he added. "We will never give it back."

But Wiseberg, who emigrated to Israel from Britain, acknowledged that this was the first time he had heard of his neighbors' water problem. And he freely conceded that in eight years there he had never entered either Palestinian village, never taken a meal with a Palestinian and never engaged in prolonged conversation with any of his non-Jewish neighbors.

Later, only a few hundred yards away, a Christian Palestinian pointed to the parched fields around him and said, "It is a very old Jewish policy. The Israelis are doing here what they did in my grandfather's time in Jaffa."

Then, referring to a text as old as Moses, he summed up the fate that now haunts all Palestinians, wherever they live, by reciting from memory the 23rd chapter of Exodus:

I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate and the beasts of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land.

T.D. Allman, a member of St. Antony's College in Oxford, England, recently completed a research fellowship at the Council on Foreign Relations. He has written on the Middle East and Indochina since the early 1970s for such publications as *The New York Times*, *Manchester Guardian* and *Le Monde diplomatique*.

My Lai remembered

An American group has contributed a 100-bed hospital to Vietnam on the site of the My Lai massacre. Friendshipment, a coalition of 45 religious and peace groups, presented its most recent contribution to the Vietnamese representative to the UN on March 16, the ninth anniversary of the massacre and also the day on which the official American delegation, headed by UAW president Leonard Woodcock, arrived to investigate the fate of American men missing in action.

"We hope this hospital will help the people of Vietnam and serve as a model for more significant aid which the U.S. government must give to repair the war," Cora Weiss, a Friendshipment spokesperson, said.

EUROPE

Madrid meeting of Eurocommunists

By Bernard H. Moss

At the conference held in Madrid on March 3 and 4 the leaders of the Communist Parties of France, Italy and Spain gave their official blessing to Eurocommunism, the term commonly employed to describe their new bureaucratic approach to socialism.

Certainly, the new direction of their parties, which seek to construct socialism in liberty and democracy, had been announced before in several bilateral encounters. But in Madrid for the first time the heads of the leading Communist Parties in Western Europe joined together to describe the precise contours of Eurocommunism, which differs as much from the socialism of the Second International as from that of the Third. Through their final declaration and its major omission—it contained no reference to repression in socialist countries—they also made known their refusal to use the notion of Eurocommunism as a weapon against the Soviet Union.

The main purpose of the conference was to support the Spanish Communists in their fight for democracy and effort to achieve full legalization. Similar fraternal meetings have already been held between Spanish Socialists and Christian Democrats and their European counterparts, but unlike the other parties, who are able to hold large public assemblies, the Communists were restricted to the privacy of their hotel rooms.

Only at the last moment did the government authorize a public news conference with the three leaders. Nevertheless, the first meeting of Spanish Communists with their Italian and French comrades on Spanish soil in 40 years had a tremendous impact on the Spanish press and public opinion.

►Detente a precondition for socialism.

In their declaration the leaders expressed their intention to achieve socialism in democracy and liberty "with a plurality of political and social forces while respecting and enlarging all collective and individual liberties." In addition, they stressed their commitment to detente, to achieving arms reduction, overcoming the military division of Europe and securing full compliance with the terms of the Helsinki Accords. Later, in the news conference they made it plain that they consider the pursuit and strengthening of detente as an absolute precondition for the construction of socialism in liberty.

The statement omitted reference to the repression of dissidents in socialist countries. All three parties have deplored the absence of liberties and condemned the recent repression there, but they did not want their meeting to be interpreted as a counter to the Soviet Union. More seriously, they fear that the recent campaign on behalf of the dissidents will be used to scuttle detente, fuel the arms race and fan the embers of the Cold War.

Several Western leaders—Carter apparently is not one—share this concern. For this reason French President Giscard d'Estaing, whose government has a large investment in Franco-Soviet cooperation, refused to see the Soviet dissident Andrei Amarik, who was hauled away from the Elysee Palace by French police. Outflanking the French president in his zeal for liberty, Communist leader George Marchais agreed to talk with Amarik on the radio. He was thus able to point out that while he shared Amarik's concern about liberty in the Soviet Union, the dissident did not seem to share his concern about detente and the defense of liberty in France.

►Solidarity with USSR.

The Spanish at Madrid would have liked an explicit reference to the absence of liberties in the East. Faced with a rival Communist faction supported by the Soviets since 1970, they have been the most virulent critics of the Soviet Union among the Euro-Communists. An explicit condemnation would have doubtless strengthened



Enrico Berlinguer, Santiago Carrillo & George Marchais meet in Madrid — Jim Hume for the New York Times 1977

None of the parties has abandoned Leninist orthodoxy regarding the revolutionary role of the industrial working class or the vanguard role of the party. Nor has any of the parties renounced its solidarity with the Soviet Union as the first socialist country...

their legal case before the Spanish tribunal assigned to judge whether they are "a totalitarian party attached to a foreign power."

The French and Italians, however, had no desire to worsen their relations with the Soviets, who have reacted with great violence to Carter's intervention on behalf of the dissidents and who at that very moment were conferring in Sofia with the ideological chiefs of the Eastern European Communist parties to formulate a response.

In the press conference that followed the three Western party leaders attempted to delineate the parameters of Eurocommunism, distinguishing it sharply from Social Democracy. Contrary to common belief, none of the parties has abandoned Leninist orthodoxy regarding the revolutionary role of the industrial working class, the vanguard role of the party and the organizational imperative of democratic centralism. The Italian leader Enrico Berlinguer, whose party is often thought to be the most democratic of the three, was quite strong in his condemnation of factions within the party.

Nor has any of the parties renounced its solidarity with the Soviet Union as the first socialist country and anti-imperialist force in the world. When questioned about his criticism of the Soviets, Santiago Carrillo, the Spanish leader, denied that there was a new ruling class in power and recognized their social, economic and anti-imperialist achievements as those of socialism.

►A liberal critique.

Like Carrillo, the Eurocommunists gen-

erally restrict their criticisms to the Soviet political system, to its "bureaucratic deformations," the insufficiencies of socialist democracy and limitations on fundamental liberties. In foreign affairs, they reproach the Soviets for putting their state interests ahead of those of the world revolution or of simply identifying the two, but they recognize the role the Soviet Union plays in struggles for national liberation in limiting the possibilities of imperialist intervention and thus in making a democratic socialism in Western Europe possible.

The Eurocommunist critique of the Soviet Union is essentially a liberal, political one that differs sharply from Maoist and Trotskyist attempts to find a new ruling class. It seeks to understand its contradictory development as a socialist country without capitalist exploitation but with bureaucratic deformations inherited from the Tsarist past that were intensified during the struggle for survival in a capitalist universe, and crystallized by the personal despotism of Stalin.

Much of their divergence with the Soviets stems from what they see as a resurgence of Stalinism since the downfall of Khrushchev in 1964. They are not ready to exonerate Lenin from some of the blame either. The historical analysis by the French Communist historian Jean Ellenstein, *The Stalinist Phenomenon*, recently published by Lawrence and Wishart, is significant in this regard.

►Soviet criticism cautious.

The Soviets have been cautious in reacting to Eurocommunism. Never very en-

thusiastic about it, they did not begin their public criticism of the Western European parties until they began their bilateral talks in 1975. This winter the Soviet monthly *New Times* singled out the writings of Ellenstein for criticism. Henry Winston of the American party chose Carrillo as his target.

During the Madrid gathering *Pravda* published its most explicit disavowal of Eurocommunism: "Experience has shown that it is impossible to realize socialism within the framework of the bourgeois state and bourgeois democracy.... Peaceful violence is inevitable in the process of transition from capitalism to socialism." Such orthodoxy had not been heard since the time of Stalin.

The Soviets are obviously apprehensive about a socialist movement that may threaten the stability of Europe and its division into two blocs. They are fearful that a democratic socialism established outside their orbit and without their help will constitute an irresistible attraction for reformist elements in Eastern Europe.

Yet, as much as they may fear its success, they cannot afford its defeat, for the Eurocommunists are the historic carriers of their revolutionary project and their only real friends in Western Europe. Erich Honecker, head of the East German party—not to be suspected of anti-Sovietism—appears to have understood the stakes involved when he recently expressed the wish that the French and Italians will "be able to create socialism in the colors of France and Italy."

►Italian revolution not for tomorrow.

Because the barriers to be overcome are considerable, the Eurocommunists, who will need all the help they can get, cannot afford a break with the Soviets. Of the three parties, the Italians have maintained the best relations with Moscow in the past two years. Their dissidence is the oldest and their gradualist strategy of "historic compromise" the least threatening to the established order. So long as the compromise pertains to immediate democratic tasks, the Soviets cannot have any theoretical objection since they have always favored the creation of large popular fronts for national and democratic purposes.

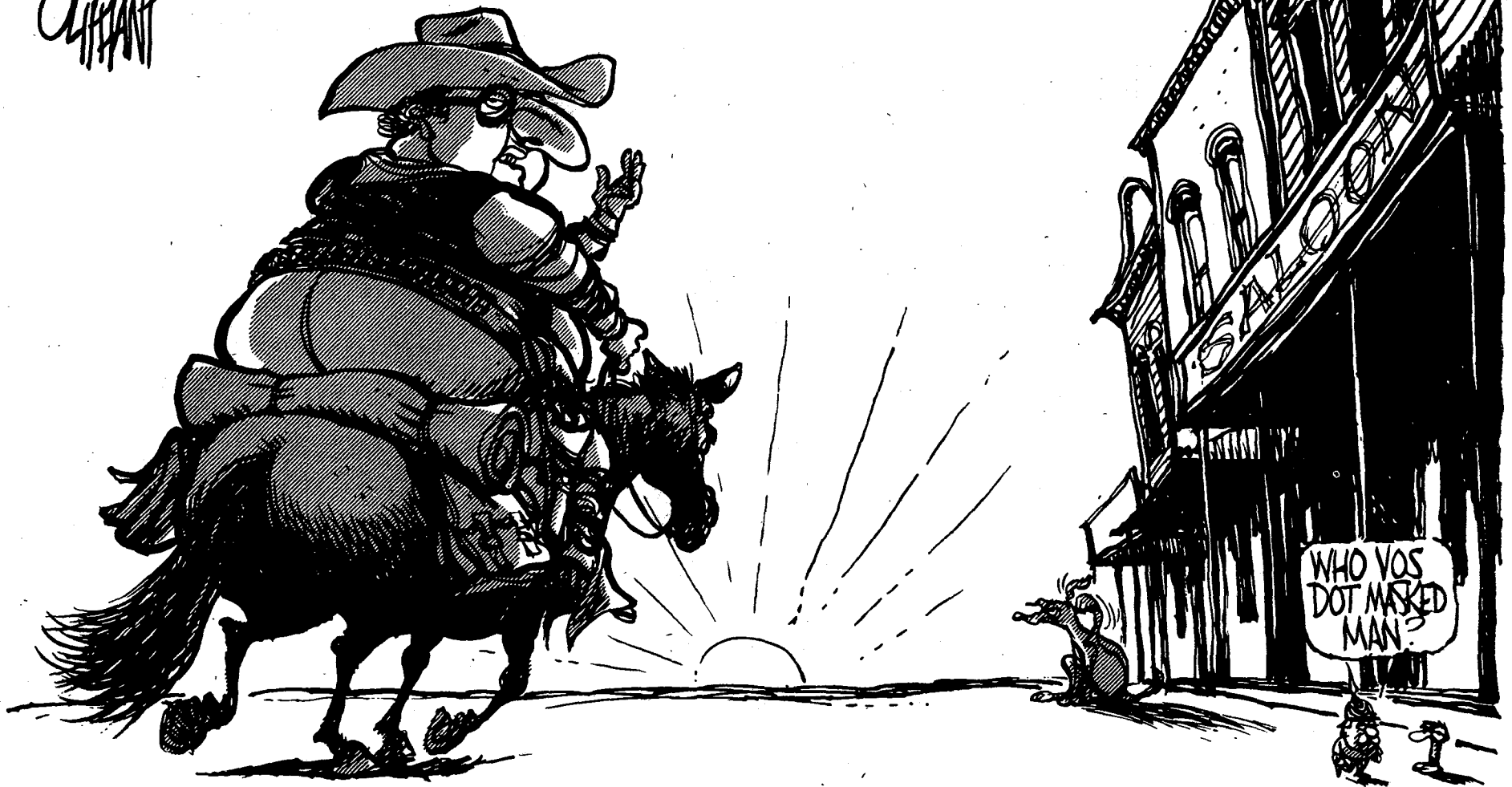
Unlike that of the French and Spanish parties, who have clearly announced their strategic perspectives, the direction of the Italian party—and the meaning of the historic compromise—remains highly ambiguous. For the moment it would seem that because of the extreme dependence of their economy on trade with Western Europe, the Italians have given up hopes of achieving socialism in one country and are working on the longer-range project of transforming Western Europe.

The success of the Common Program in France might speed up the process and alter this perspective. But obviously, if the socialization of the Italian economy must wait upon the overthrow of capitalism in West Germany, the Italian revolution is not for tomorrow.

Meanwhile, the practical implementation of the historic compromise marks time. So far the Christian Democrats have been able to resist pressures for such a compromise. Premier Giulio Andreotti seems determined to keep the Communists out of the government and in the shadows of his power until the next elections, which he hopes will register their decline. The party's policy of critical support—Andreotti is kept in office through Communist abstentions—has yielded some concessions, but no real dividends for the working class or the faltering Italian economy.

It has begun to cause disaffection in the ranks of trade unionists and party supporters. The revolt of Italian students against the established parties, dramatized in the physical assault on the Communist trade union leader Lama, reveals the dangers of a one-sided historical compromise with Christian Democracy. ■

LOS ANGELES TIMES
SYNDICATED
©1976 WASHINGTON STAR
CLIPART



From the Lone Ranger to Mr. Peanut . . .

Is American foreign policy changing under Carter?
Four prominent American historians offer their opinions.

The questions

In his election campaign, Jimmy Carter tried to distinguish his foreign policy from that of the "lone ranger" Henry Kissinger. The statements of President Carter and his secretary of State Cyrus Vance on human rights and Third World commodity relations and their emphasis on reaffirming the trilateral alliance among industrial capitalist countries have made it appear that Carter is setting out on a new foreign policy course. But do these appearances denote real changes or are they merely designed to create a different image behind which the same overall policies will be pursued?

IN THESE TIMES decided to ask four prominent American historians to evaluate the Kissinger policies and to assess any differences with the Carter administration's approach. We asked them to respond, either consecutively or as a whole, to three questions about American foreign policy:

1. How did Henry Kissinger's policies change American foreign policy?
2. What do you expect the differences, if any, to be between Kissinger's policies and those of the Carter administration?
3. What do you expect to be the impact of the Carter administration policies on the world and on American society?

William A Williams

The central issue has always been—and remains—how to make tactical adaptations that do not subvert the strategic essence of empire.

Allow me to suggest that it is a mistake to concentrate on Kissinger (or any other individual) in discussing the changes in contemporary American foreign policy. Specific people do become important, perhaps even vital, at various points in history: think only of Hoover in the 1920s and Churchill in the 1940s. In that sense, Kissinger is worth a page or two in a future textbook. But what is important involves the domestic and social forces that became obvious during the Kennedy administration: those social forces caused the changes—*adaptation* is a more accurate term—that have occurred during the last decade.

A good many earlier policy makers recognized the necessity for such adaptation: one can make a strong argument, for example that Eisenhower and Kennan sensed the essentials of the new reality during the 1950s. Even Nixon previewed his China policy during the 1960s.

For all those people, however, the central issue has always been—and remains—how to make tactical adaptations that do not subvert the strategic essence of empire. Nixon and Kissinger dragged that issue

out into the open and dramatized the need to devise a coherent foreign policy for late corporate capitalism. None of them, alas, have Churchill's gutsy honesty: to wit, we, Nixon and Kissinger, are not appointed to the job of presiding over the liquidation of the American empire.

But that is, of course, the very definition of the job.

So we come down on the issue. The weaknesses of those efforts to resolve the dilemma of empire can be subsumed under the ramifications of one proposition: the alienation inherent in capitalism has produced a *fundamental misconception of power*.

1. Kennan, an unusually intelligent and knowledgeable man without much insight, had a belated vision of that heart of darkness. (Ed. note: George Kennan was an American diplomat and foreign policy theorist.) He complained (or perhaps *whined* is a more accurate term) bitterly that American leaders had read his call for the containment of the USSR (read Revolution) in narrowly military terms. But the essence of late corporate capitalism is the take-over bid: Kennan defined the issues in terms of wind-up toys and middle-class walls (a classically capitalistic metaphor), and hence his claim to having been misunderstood tells us more about the pervasiveness of the capitalistic outlook than about the misconceptions of Kennan's superiors (in his view, his inferiors).

2. Kennedy inhaled increasingly strong whiffs of the true nature of power at the Bay of Pigs, in Vienna, and during the Cuban missile crisis. He was in truth a slow learner, but he told us in his own way (the American University speech) that the strategy of the take-over bid was obsolete.

The stockholders, as it were, were no longer voting by proxy.

3. The policy making institutions (Rockefeller, Brookings, MIT, Rand, etc.) were by that time far on down the road. They knew how to read the handwriting on the wall. Look at it this way: Nixon never had the nerve to be a leader. If he had, Watergate would have been a teenage pimple in the course of our maturation into a sophisticated multinational tyranny. Kissinger understood all that, and did his mundane (he is mundane, whatever his personal flair) best to create a new empire.

As for Carter, I am ambivalent. Is he the reincarnation of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt? Or perhaps a bionic combination of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and James Polk? It is too soon to say. But I do have a feeling that the corporate peanut farmer has a feel for economic realities that we had better watch with care. He is, after all, the master of the take-over.

Carter and his friends will do their best, and it may prove to be a most sophisticated best, to preserve the empire.

In that sense, and it is vital, all the rhetoric about Kissinger and Carter is beside the point. We need strategically different visions of America—and what it means to be an American.

Now if Carter and Z-Big had any sense of History, which most obviously they do not, they would take a page from the strategy of Charles Evans Hughes, who was Secretary of State in the 1920s. They would convene a conference on disarmament and say this:

We propose to scrap half of our nuclear weapons and concentrate on making a revolution.

Hughes was mistaken in thinking that

capitalism could still make a revolution; but at least he put his finger on the central issue. It is up to us to make the revolution.

Stop wasting thought and words on Kissinger, Carter, et. al.

Carl Parrini

The Carter administration is more likely to attempt state capitalist solutions to global problems... The political implications are more, not less, conflict with our allies and with the Third World.

In order to come to conclusions about what constitutes "change" we must first develop a useful definition of the policy which is being altered. In this sense it is useful to define the "Cold War" as consisting, on the American side, of "maximum" and "minimum" objectives.

The minimum objectives consisted of the desire of American leaders to stabilize the industrial and social systems of West Europe and Japan and integrate the Third World nations into such a restored liberal world system.

The maximum objectives consisted of the minimum objectives plus forcing the Soviet Union to surrender the gains that it had made as a result of World War II, pushing Soviet power back to its pre-World War II borders, and reversing the results of the Chinese revolution—or at least limiting its impact on Japan, Asia, and the Third World generally.

By the time of Richard Nixon's inauguration (1969) it was clear that the maximum objectives had not been obtained and were no longer obtainable, and that structural weaknesses in industrial capitalism as a social system had seriously undermined and threatened to reverse the social stabilization so painstakingly achieved over the previous 20 years.

Henry Kissinger's basic accomplishment has been to take note of these changed power relationships and to reshape American foreign policy in such a way as to define which advanced positions of the American empire were untenable and to arrange a retreat from those positions, while attempting, with moderate success, to obscure the fact that any retreat was taking place.

The "detente" of the 1970s reordered relations with West Europe/Japan as well as with the Soviet Union and China; much less was done to accommodate the Third World demands.

Briefly the Soviet sphere in East Europe was tacitly recognized and the reality of revolutionary China as the legitimate great power of Asia was accepted. The Nixon-Kissinger administration was less prone to surrender national economic advantage and so less willing to contribute to commercial compromise within industrial capitalism as a system. In general the tendency was to treat old allies with more hostility and old enemies with more consideration.

Kissinger made an effort to draw the Soviet sphere into a degree of commercial dependence on the U.S. by opening trading in such a way as to discourage tendencies toward a separate "socialist world market" and instead make the Soviet sphere a slightly "special case" within a general industrial capitalist world market. Although the same general approach was intended toward revolutionary China, the Chinese have, so far, been much less willing to welcome American capital.

With respect to the Third World, Kissinger's policies have been somewhat more flexible tactically, but have made no great strategic alterations. The demand of the "Group of 77" for a new economic order elicited no positive response from Kissinger.

Proposals from the Third (and the "Fourth") World nations that the U.S. helped finance income maintenance schemes for the commodities provoked a sharply negative response from Kissinger. He saw them simply as another threat to the stability of industrial capitalism by threatening to raise production costs to levels imposing economic stagnation on the West.

In terms of long run impact Kissinger seems to have assumed that raw materials cartels have proven historically unsustainable, decline in volume would ultimately lead to decline in some nations' real export income, hence to a scramble to change market shares, and the breakup of the cartels. In other words, the commodity producing nations would, in the long run, have no place to sell their exports except to the industrial capitalist states and so would be forced to sell them at the "free market" prices ultimately rigged by the oligopolistic pricing policies of the large corporations in the west.

Differences between Kissinger and Carter will at first simply be tactical, but might lead to undesired strategic effects. Detente with the Soviet Union and East Europe will continue, but there will be more effort to encourage direct economic reordering of East European states away from the concentration of their trade with the Soviet Union, and so less tendency for the U.S. to deal with the Soviets on East European questions. Tactically this will make for a more aggressive version of the Kissinger policy.

It could lead to generalizing national behavior more like Rumania's and less like Bulgaria's in East Europe, and in that sense would tend to annoy the Russians, but not in any sort of threatening way.

In addition the State, Treasury and Agriculture Departments under Carter might be more willing to engage in state trading. Carter's Agriculture Secretary Robert Bergland already speaks of matching OPEC with an American-controlled international grain cartel. Equally likely is a reactivation of the so-called strategic stockpiles, that is, buying cartels to match and perhaps reduce the market power of Third World selling cartels such as OPEC.

With respect to our industrial-nation allies, the Carter administration would be likely to put more pressure on Japan to restrain its exports to North America and perhaps to Western Europe and to increase its public expenditure on pollution control and defense so as to make the overhead "social" costs of its own industry roughly comparable to that of the U.S. and Western Europe.

Treasury Secretary Blumenthal and Agriculture Secretary Bergland can be expected to press Europe to dismantle or at least significantly modify the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) of the European Economic Community (EEC), which has led to mountains of butter and rivers of wine within the EEC, and, much more ominously, to very severe disproportionalities in agricultural investment about the globe.

We get some hint of the impact of the administration's policies on American society in general if we note that the objectives of the Trilateral intellectuals emphasize that the current problems of industrial capitalism are "systemetic" problems and should be solved on the basis that all participants have an equal right to social stability. That can only mean that administrators in each of the "trilateral parts," composed of nation states, will try to induce the respective societies to accept proportionate sacrifices in the period of relative economic stagnation in which the whole world system presently finds itself.

This can only be done by reducing living standards, since capital goes on "strike" (which no injunction can touch) when the share of profits in gross domestic output are threatened. Since money wage reductions will lead to defensive measure by labor up to and including wage reduction strikes cannot be utilized. Inflation cannot be used to restore profit margins because its use in the past 20 years has created the kind of massive investment disproportionalities which are the root of the present crisis.

The remaining technique is to cut back on social spending at the municipal, state

and federal levels, and to combine this with cutting the money wage of labor indirectly (such as proposals to suspend the minimum wage laws for youth under 21). This approach in turn necessitates restricting legislative power and expanding executive and commission power.

To generalize, the Carter administration is more likely to attempt state capitalist solutions to global problems than were Kissinger and Simon. The political implications of this abroad are more, not less, conflict with our allies and with the Third World. The political implications at home are less representative government and lower living standards, which some fools will undoubtedly call "socialism" because they involve more corporate-state planning.

Walter LaFeber

It remains a question whether this revival has not already been playing a very long time.

1. Kissinger's policy changes came in two batches. The first focused on the big-powers, that is, on improved relations with Peking and the so-called detente with the Soviets. Detente, however, was less a major change than a 1970s word for a 1940s policy of containment that had become discredited in Vietnam.

Washington's belief that Soviet expansion remained the top problem was the basic premise of detente, but Kissinger and Nixon also understood that the old means of containing the Russians (overwhelming American superiority in nuclear weapons, and U.S. economic/political dominance in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East) had disappeared forever. New means had to be found.

The 1970s approach rested on the leverage of American economic power and the attempt to exclude the Soviets politically from such areas as Southeast Asia and Africa.

The second batch of policies, occurring at the end of Kissinger's term, was a too-late attempt to deal with crises in southern Africa and with mineral producers in the Middle East and South America. Kissinger had considered these areas of peripheral importance, or less, until the embargo of 1973-1974 and the Group of 77's activities of 1975-1976 vividly demonstrated that Kissinger had been caught intellectually naked when he had to deal with these problems.

2. Differences between Kissinger and Carter policies will exist in matters of style (and such differences can be of importance), but little in substance since Carter must deal with the same fundamental problems: a series of economic and political crises among the capitalist nations in the northern part of the globe, and the rising power—especially on the economic level—of the southern hemisphere. For these reasons Carter considers the Soviets to be of considerably less importance than did Kissinger and Nixon in 1972; the policies on SALT, economic leverage, and political relations—that is, on nearly everything except, at the beginning, the position on Soviet dissidents—are much like Kissinger's during his last months. If Carter strays too far from traditional relations with either the southern hemisphere or the Soviets, Congress (or others, like the wheat exporters) will be there to pull him back.

3. The Carter foreign policy's impact on American society will be bullish or bearish depending on how far the administration can restore some vitality and unity to the North Atlantic community. The Trilateral Commission's theories will be put to the test, and there is no apparent fall-back position. Given the condition of Great Britain, Italy, the Iberian Peninsula and, to some extent, France, the Commission's ideas are clearly working against time, when it is clear that the results are more bearish than had been hoped, the results cannot be anything but divisive and dangerous for the American economy and its politics. As has always been the case, the

success of revivals will be measured by both the number of souls converted and the weight of the collection plates, and it remains a question whether this revival has not already been playing a very long time.

Lloyd Gardner

There is no going back on Nixon's policies because they were perceptions of reality, but there may be different tactics.

Why say Henry Kissinger changed the policy direction? Surely, Richard Nixon did as much as Kissinger. I have discussed this in *The Great Nixon Turnaround*, but briefly—Nixon's speeches while he was in the House and Senate seldom touched on foreign affairs. During the Eisenhower term we have only two real examples of Nixon positions on foreign affairs: the 1954 speech on Indochina and the 1955 memo on Fidel Castro. In both instances Nixon was talking about the need to control insurgency movements, not continued confrontation with another superpower. In 1967 he enlarged this to include China in his famous article in *Foreign Affairs*. My point is simply this: Nixon saw a kind of pre-World War I structure emerging in the waning days of the cold war as early as Kissinger did. As President he simply moved to implement that policy, and hiring Kissinger was one way of going about it.

2. How can one say? There is no going back on the Nixon policies because they were perceptions of reality, but there may be different tactics, e.g. the human rights thing. I am not so awfully worried about Brezinski's background. I do think that if he brings Japan in more that will be positive.

3. The real issue is not what the impact of those policies will be on American society, but will the two be able to complete the notion and necessity of U.S. adjustment to being one of several great powers. And, even more important, is there time left to adjust to the legitimate demands of the rest of the world. The late William L. Neumann was going to do as a last book the story of how nations adjusted to loss of power. We needed that book badly.

In general, the power of the multinational corporation as the answer to the limitations of expansion imposed by conditions in the 1960s and the disastrous Vietnam war will be the real question mark of the future. The era of cheap energy is over, as Barraclough notes. Will the rest of the world, cheated of the chance for cheap energy, accept its fate? Or will there be a series of impossible situations and continued turmoil? I'd bet on the latter; hence the policymakers' perception of the absolute necessity of big power agreement to prevent a World War I-like situation from developing.

The participants

William Appleman Williams is Professor of History at Oregon State University and author of *The Shaping of American Diplomacy*, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, *The Contours of American History* and *The Roots of the Modern American Empire*.

Carl Parrini is Professor of History at Northern Illinois University and is the author of *Heir to Empire: United States Economic Diplomacy, 1916-1923*.

Walter LaFeber is professor of History at Cornell University and author of *The New Empire and America*, *Russia, and the Coldwar, 1945-1960*.

Lloyd Gardner is Professor of History at Rutgers University and is the author of *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy*, *Architects of Illusion: Men and Ideas in American Foreign Policy, 1941-1949*, and *The Great Nixon Turnaround*.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Toward a popular politics for the left

During the last month we have reported on two conferences that, taken together, could represent a major step forward for the American left. The convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and the statewide conference co-sponsored by the Campaign for Economic Democracy and the Conference for an Alternative Public Policy in California are expressions of a growing maturity and seriousness of purpose in two sections of the left: the anti-Communist socialists and social democrats, many of whom were prominent supporters of the Cold War in the '50s, and critics of the anti-war movement of the '60s, and the New Leftists of the '60s, who, especially after 1968, largely gave up any serious attempt to gain support within the major institutions of American society in which working people participate.

Several of our readers, coming out of their own experiences with one or the other of these groupings, have been confused or annoyed with the attention given to these developments. Some see DSOC simply as the socialist, or social democratic side of the historic Socialist/Communist split dating back to 1919. Others see the CED simply as the personal political vehicle of Tom Hayden.

Our own history is one of criticism of both of these groupings, and, at times, even of antagonism toward them. But this paper was not created as a vehicle for any grouping on the left, much less as a means to pursue personal, or narrow political antagonisms. Our purpose was and is to help make the system of corporate capitalism the major issue in American politics, and to help in the process of building a movement for socialism that can challenge the corporate ruling class on its own ground. Both DSOC and the CED share, or are moving toward that purpose. And both have demonstrated that at this time politics in the U.S., if it is to be more than posturing or self-gratification through

moral elitism, centers around the struggle for power and for the implementation of public program through the electoral or legislative process.

Although DSOC was formed to help create a socialist tendency within the Democratic Party, it is also a part of the important trend in the international socialist movement toward ending the historic split between Social-Democrats and Communists generated by the Russian Revolution and the formation of the Third International-

To move toward a third party, given the forces available and widespread distrust of the left, would leave socialists talking to themselves.

al. The move toward reunification of the European socialist movement has been made possible by the renewal on the part of Communist parties of the historic socialist commitment to democracy—a commitment that had been ignored or opposed, in theory and practice, during the half century of the subordination of Western European Communists to the Soviet party—and by the reawakening among some Social-Democratic parties of their original socialist purpose.

In this country, there has been no similar development within the Communist Party, which, in any case, has no public presence. But DSOC is moving to end the historic division within the American left by insisting that its purpose is to build a non-doctrinaire political movement for socialism, one in which there is room for a diversity of views on many of the questions that have traditionally divided socialists into hostile and warring sects. A changed attitude on the part of DSOC leaders toward the Cold War has given substance to this initiative.

Equally important, many of the people who have been instrumental in developing

DSOC have moved from a view of themselves as a left wing of the Democratic Party to a view of themselves also as a socialist tendency within the Democratic Party. This attempt, which is already showing signs of success, is based on a recognition that there are increasingly large numbers of people active in the major institutions of our society who are beginning to question corporate capitalism as a social system, but that the question of socialism will not become a political issue in the U.S. until it

is raised consistently and sensibly within the major political institutions.

We are not sure what the DSOC leaders have in mind for the long run—whether they look forward to gaining control of the Democratic Party or to a realignment of American politics in which one of the new major parties will be socialist. Our own view is that realignment is the more likely possibility, but that in any case the need now is not to move toward a third party that, given the forces available and the level of distrust of the left among the general population, would leave socialists talking to themselves.

►The Campaign for Economic Democracy.

The Campaign for Economic Democracy, like Tom Hayden's campaign for the U.S. Senate last year, out of which CED has grown, is not socialist in its outlook. It is nevertheless an important development and a giant step forward for the New Leftists who form CED's core.

Hayden's campaign, like the Black Panther Party's campaign for mayor in Oakland, Calif., which preceded it, broke out of the mold of protest and syndicalist politics that had characterized the New Left

and made possible a genuine grass roots perspective, designed to reach the mass of working people on issues of immediate relevance to them. The central feature of both the Panther and Hayden campaigns has been the focus of their activities on electoral politics.

As movements, DSOC and CED complement each other. So far, DSOC has by and large been an organization of labor, Democratic party and other organization officials. In its most ambitious project, Democracy 76, it put forward a program around which it agitated inside the Democratic party, but it has not run campaigns for office in its own name or set up its own local or statewide organizations, as CED is now trying to do.

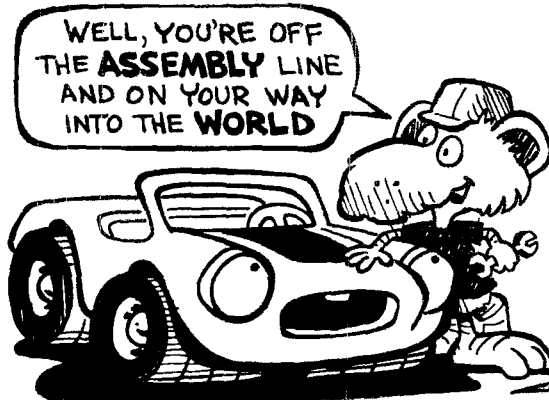
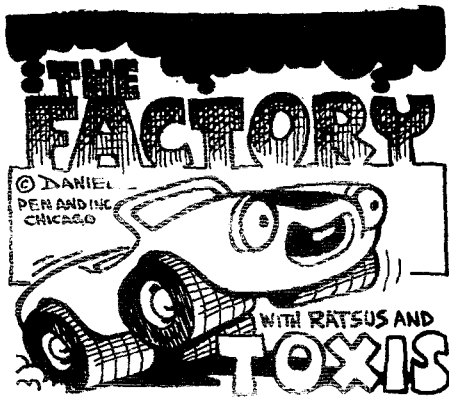
On the other hand, although CED does have this orientation, and is based on Hayden's senatorial campaign, CED does not have as clear a political perspective or purpose as DSOC.

Another way of seeing this is that DSOC is still primarily an organization of intellectuals, including many in union and some in public office, while CED is more nearly an organization of organizers or activists. Both, however, understand that a popular politics on the left is impossible without a program that addresses itself to the issues of most immediate interest to working people: unemployment, control of corporate policy (as an immediate demand), and an extension of democratic participation in social decision-making.

The most encouraging thing about both DSOC and CED is that events, and the people who have shown the greatest enthusiasm about building the organizations, have been pushing both groupings more or less steadily toward an open socialist politics, without threatening the perspective of either grouping to be a part of the mainstream of American politics. In this respect, if not in all others, we identify ourselves with these movements. ■

Jim Yanagisawa





Letters

Thought provoked

Editor:

Congratulations on your Feb. 22 editorial "Remember when the AAA killed a million hogs a day?" The short crisp analysis of capitalism and the current energy crisis was brilliant and your unique proposal to nationalize, or should I say socialize, the energy industry was creative and thought provoking. I have an amendment, though, that I think would make your argument sounder.

The suggestion is that under public ownership, the energy industry should be run for a financial as well as social profit. This is important for two reasons. First, this would give the people more than if it operated at cost. If a publicly owned energy industry ran at a marginal profit it would be a source of revenue for the people as a whole. If, however, this profit would be passed off to the consumer, capitalists would get a disproportionate share of it through lower prices. Energy passed on to the consumer at cost would disproportionately end up as a savings for capitalists here in the U.S. and in other countries. It would be far better to have all this money go to the people as a whole. As social revenue it could be used to expand the short and long range productive capacity of the energy industry, thereby stimulating socially useful jobs, or if desired to increase needed public services.

Second, the energy industry should be run for profit if publicly owned to make efficiency be an integral part of its operation. Efficiency is vital if a social function is to be productive and if it is to avoid material and manpower waste. Requiring efficiency from a publicly owned energy industry would give those in decision-making positions the incentive to be fiscally responsible.

This proposal need not be harsh to the consumer. You propose that consumer representatives have a voice in the decision-making process of a public energy industry, with which I agree. As such these representatives could help make decisions on rates for the needy, so that they could afford service. This would not have to eliminate profits either. Deficits made in allowances for the needy could be made up by higher prices charged to business and put on such things as the automobile where those who choose to own larger wasteful cars would pay for the luxury.

—Leslie V. Iverson
Milwaukee, Wisc

What is independence?

Editor:

A disturbing trend has shown up in recent issues of *ITT*: an identification of the paper with Democratic party electoral politics in general and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee in particular.

"It is no accident that increasing numbers of labor, black, women's, left-Democrat, and other anti-corporate leaders have either associated themselves with or

expressed amicable attitudes toward the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's full employment political program," *ITT*'s March 2 editorial stated. Full employment is the linchpin of many groups' platforms—why single out DSOC?

IN THESE TIMES has widely touted itself as an independent publication; indeed, the word is under the masthead. It is vital that it not be reduced to a mouthpiece for groups who happen to be working within the Democratic Party. The two-page spread on DSOC in the March 2 issue is but one example. In the last six issues we have seen: Sam Brown shaking up the banks; three stories on the "insurgent electorals;" a cocky Soglin in the Madison mayoral race; Hayden forces reorganizing...all this in addition to the strong electoral posture of the editorials.

"American electoral politics," you stated in another recent editorial, "...is a good enough ocean with plenty of fish, some of them sharks, to put us into the swim of popular socialism." Let's not limit ourselves to blowfish or any other particular school.

—Zachary Schiller
Battle Creek, Mich.

Our singlemost illinformed and assinine statement

Editor:

I must take exception to the singlemost illinformed and assinine statement yet to appear in an *ITT* editorial: "All sincere Socialdemocrats...are becoming socialists." Pure bullshit! I am a Socialist Democrat (Socialdemocrat for short). It would be quite absurd to "become" what I already am—a socialist. Further, as a Socialdemocrat I do not consider myself on the "rightwing" of world socialism. Insisting that Socialdemocracy must stand for public ownership, not just control. Economically and ethically, this means revolution.

Jerome Cusimano
Justice, Ill.

A big feather

Editor:

Well, will wonders never cease? A few weeks ago a friend gave me a copy of *IN THESE TIMES* and I have been an avid reader ever since. You guys (Guys used in a nonsexist sense) are really impressive—a nonsectarian left newspaper with decent and fair coverage of the entire left. You could have knocked me over with a feather, albeit a large one. The '60s were not in vain.

Find my check for \$15 enclosed, please start my subscription.

—George W. Goth
Berkeley, Calif.

One omission

Editor:

In John Judis' otherwise fine, in-depth report on the biennial convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) (*ITT*, March 2), one significant omission was evident. The convention did not only discuss the needs for greater focus on local organizing, chapter development and relations with community organizing efforts. In addition to such general discussion, 40 or 50 delegates met during the weekend to draft the community organizing resolutions,

lay plans for a regular newsletter about chapter organizing experiences, and establish an ongoing "activist caucus" in the organization. The newsletter, endorsed by the original board of DSOC, will be published by the Philadelphia chapter.

—Harry C. Boyte
Minneapolis

Dispensing socialist advice?

Editor:

Dan Marshall's article "Was Sadlowski out of joint..." (*ITT*, March 9), draws some very odd, certainly unsocialistic conclusions.

Marschall thinks that the image of militancy and readiness to do battle is all wrong and is what defeated Sadlowski. He fails to mention that the press and union administration deliberately spread that image to create fear that the election of Sadlowski will result in imminent strikes in order to scare the old fogies in the union.

I suppose Marschall is dispensing socialist advice when he says that "the left needs to formulate a more sophisticated conception of trade union tactics. The conflict is not just between labor and management in one company..., but is centered in the political arena." When was the class struggle, the attempt to organize and raise the standard of living of workers not a fight against the entire capitalist class and their government?

Marschall reasons that "what the left denounces as class collaboration may be a trade-off..." Marschall justifies class collaboration, defends the ENA no-strike agreement of the Abel administration in the Steel Union, and, since there is no other means to persuade the altruistic capitalists, submission to their power is all that is left.

The one conclusion that a socialist should make escapes Marschall. A socialist would draw the conclusion that labor unions cannot win with economic power alone, or depend on the good will of the capitalists. Labor needs a strong socialist movement, or, at least, an independent labor party that could put a heavy foot in the political door of the capitalist establishment. The only way labor can prevent the capitalist from using their combined economic and political power is by taking some of that power away from the capitalist class.

—Leon Blum
Plantation, Fla.

More on Sadlowski

Editor:

Dan Marschall is right that the major factor in Sadlowski's defeat was that he was perceived as "strike happy" (*ITT*, March 9). The working class is not as strike prone today as it was 30 or 40 years ago precisely because those strikes and left organizations were the means by which a modern proletariat was built and through which it entered corporate capitalist society. (To become part of the system; yes, an industrial proletariat is necessary to have what we see today.)

Second, there are other factors worth speculating on: for example, Tony Boyle's new trial was announced just days before the election and reported adjacent to the Sadlowski/McBride contest by NBC. Corporate leaders believe strongly in the psychological effect of such stories: "Yablonski the reformer

provokes violence; maybe Sadlowski will do the same." In my experience in electoral politics such canning of the news has been rampant.

Back to first paragraph: a guy in the Communist Party once told me wistfully, "It was nothing to shut down a factory in those days." Of course not, the working class was more petty bourgeois then.

—Don Stevens
Vermillion, S.D.

Editor's note: We have received several letters about Dan Marshall's column and expect more. Next week we will print others with a reply by Marshall.

Out of the frying pan....

Editor:

Staughton Lynd made good points in his piece on workers' control (*ITT*, March 1), but I was puzzled by his statement that "if workers' control is to mean participation by workers in the decisions that affect their lives, industry must be publicly owned."

I couldn't discover why in Lynd's column. Public ownership may be necessary in certain industries that are natural monopolies or essential to the public good, but why should we seek this kind of concentration of power? Why should workers voluntarily put their necks into this kind of noose?

Last Aug. 7 the *New York Times* ran a story on Alexander Park's management of the nationalized British Leyland Corporation. He said, "I feel I'm still in free enterprise. I look upon my funding, for example, no differently from how anybody else looks at his funding, except that I have a restricted source—the government. I don't consult anybody if I want to lay people off. We just lay them off." And, the *Times* added, "Indeed over the last year Leyland has laid off 36,000 workers, few of whom are ever likely to return."

If this can happen in a democratic country like England, with a "socialist" government yet, what further proof do we need that public ownership, in and by itself, means nothing more than jumping from the frying pan of a capitalist boss into the fire of an even more powerful state boss?

Yugoslavia seems to have worked out a good arrangement, where public ownership is necessary, namely, worker control in state-owned enterprises, but I will be even more impressed when it has given its workers guarantees of free speech so that we can be sure they aren't bullshitting when they say that they control those factories.

If workers really want to control both big and little decisions, then they must own the corporations, at least, while they remain employees in that corporation.

Socialists who have learned the lessons of history no longer talk about public ownership as though it were the answer to all that ails us, or even an essential ingredient. Instead they speak of "social ownership." Worker ownership seems to me to be the ideal form of social ownership and I commend this thought to Lynd's attention.

—John C. Cort
Nahant, Mass.

More letters on following page.

More Letters

A citizen's obligation

Editor:

Thank you no end for Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins' insightful and (hopefully) awakening article concerning Congressional control over the American tax dollar (*ITT*, March 2). Perhaps the findings of the Washington-based Center for International Policy (from which the statistics in the article were taken) will create enough backlash to awaken our sleeping giants in the House and Senate.

As for us private citizens, it seems now more than an obligation to question where our taxes go. If we don't oversee the process, we will continue unwittingly to support repressive regimes in countries such as South Korea and Chile. Carter obviously has no intention of applying the principles of zero-based budgeting (specifically, program justification and dollar totals) to the secretive World Bank and International Monetary Bank. As the authors point out, these institutions have more control over the destination of American foreign aid than anyone.

—Bruce Colven
Eugene, Ore.

The people yes.

Editor:

Just finished the feature on Barbara Koppel (*ITT*, Feb. 2) and was delighted to see her given such deserved attention and praise. Hurray for a dynamite woman who can put across the clearest message in the most powerful way!

But I am surprised and upset at a socialist paper's article leaving out even a mention of all the other people who worked long and hard with no pay—not just that Koppel "got friends to go and she couldn't pay them much more than expenses." She was only able to get a crew because there is a network of movement people who will give their time, money and personal life-time for what they believe is important.

To only say, "Not all have her ability as an organizer and a fund-raiser." is like saying that only Jim Weinstein could start *IN THESE TIMES*, when you all were part of larger networks and came together behind the paper.

Give the synthesizers their just credit—Yes—but also keep alive the people and their movement's victories.

We really like the paper.

Len Stanley
Chapel Hill, N.C.

A muddled expression of an important issue

Editor:

Alan Wolfe's informative article about the Two Pauls (*ITT*, Feb. 23) has a bizarre and, in my judgment, erroneous conclusion. After correctly observing that the Two Pauls (Paul Nitze and Paul Warnke) represent a possible split in America's ruling class—with one segment representing a continuation of the Cold War, more military spending, geopolitical nationalism, etc., and the other representing an extension of detente, de-emphasis of anticommunism and military spending, etc.—Wolfe concluded that Paul Warnke, who represents detente, constitutes "a greater threat to the long-run desires of ordinary people for some control over the conditions that affect their lives."

Nevertheless, Wolfe goes on, we should not oppose Warnke, "for the policies he advocates are welcome," even though "bringing peace with the Sov-

Eurocommunism: Opportunism or the best hope for the left?

The recent articles on the Communist/Socialist Common Program in France by Bernard Moss (*ITT*, Jan 26-Feb. 16) and the Italian CP's support for Czech dissidents by Diana Johnstone (*ITT*, Feb. 16) presented information and analysis that could not be found in the commercial press except in grossly distorted form. Yet there was something disturbing about them.

Moss's account of the Communists' role in the events of May-June 1968 has a slightly Orwellian flavor. Those events appear to have been genuinely spontaneous. The implicit organizing principle of the movement was anti-authoritarian. Whether the events, with a different sort of Communist participation, would have led to a socialist France, we can never know. But to see the Communists as anything other than the train's brakemen, no matter what their reasons, seems a distortion.

The tone of Johnstone's account of Berlinguer's closing speech at the cultural conference is always laudatory—e.g., she uses the phrase "bold and comprehensive appeal" and is never critical. Yet the PCI's program for a "transition to socialism" is one that every Italian Communist I have spoken with says will be "very long." If this is true, to portray one's appeal to the Italian working-class for economic austerity as "an opportunity to jettison the consumer society" is just an ideological masking of concessions to Italian and international "capitalist requirements."

Both Moss and Johnstone often, though not always, speak with the voices of the parties whose actions and words might be more usefully criticized.

People drift into an uncritical posture toward the Eurocommunists, I think, because of the underdeveloped state of the American left. We have no mass socialist/communist movement here. In writing about those movements in Europe we try to make their popularity understandable to Americans, who, we assume, are predisposed toward anti-communism. Such an approach risks occasional degeneration into an uncritical posture. Fully to serve the American left, though, criticism of Eurocommunism is necessary.

IN THESE TIMES could do a service to the American left by running a fifth article on the French situation that explores some of the problems with the Communist/Socialist strategy. The article might explore whether

- winning the 1978 parliamentary elections will lead to control of the State apparatus (including the army and police);
- what sorts of strains we might expect in the left alliance under the internal and external pressure that is likely to mount after 1978;
- is a ruling coalition of parties containing one whose self-organizing principle is "centralism" compatible with a society whose self-organizing principle is anti-authoritarian;
- finally, will the "peaceful road to socialism" lead to socialism, or remain peaceful?

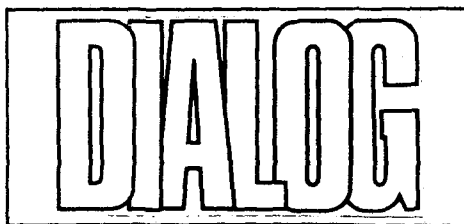
This article would require a voice close to the French extra-parliamentary left of Gorz and Sartre and some history of that left.

The apparently still continuing rebellion of Italian students affords *IN THESE TIMES* the opportunity to run some analysis of the Italian situation from a perspective to the left of the PCI's. In the

ties [involves waging] war on ordinary Americans." This is a muddled expression of a separate issue that finally comes in the last sentence: Warnke is apparently thinking about the long run in which "ultimately struggles are about productive relationships, not strategic balances, and for that reason alone it would be well worth seeing him confirmed."

Struggles about productive relations are not long run or short run; they are con-

tinuous. The cold war involved preoccupations that distorted the composition of our national output and quality of life and negatively affected labor's leadership. All these are directly or indirectly related to the relations of production. It is difficult for moderate to left labor leaders, given the absence of a socialist political movement and the prevalence of strong anticommunist union bosses, to argue against the business system and



one of their (the PCI's) spokesmen off the stage at Rome University as the emergence of the "new Italian fascism." Such opportunism by the PCI is a shade beneath the epithets hurled by the PCF (and reiterated uncritically by Moss) at the students in May-June 1968.

—Leland Neuberger
Berkeley, Calif.

Diana Johnstone replies:

Leland Neuberger hits the nail on the head when he says the we write about European Communists in a particularly friendly way when addressing Americans to avoid feeding the prevailing anticommunism. Having made this point, he should know better than to go on to assume, as he seems to do, that my views coincide with those of the PCI. It seems to me a bit much to conclude on the basis of a single article—whose main theme, incidentally, was the external blockage of political evolution in Czechoslovakia and Italy and not PCI strategy—that I "too often speak with the voice of the PCI." Is it unacceptable to report a PCI speech without including a harangue against the "revisionists"?

Feeling no particular vocation to be the new Lenin, I do not feel obliged to present a revolutionary strategy in every news article I write.

Of course the PCI's effort to turn economic austerity into an opportunity to jettison the consumer society is an ideological masking of the concessions to capitalist requirements. Whether it is "just" that, or whether it can be given some real concrete content, remains to be seen. Personally, I am not wildly optimistic, but there are many good reasons for not dismissing such efforts out of hand.

Whatever my own analysis (which is not fixed but in a constant state of development), I do not share the view of some American new left anti-Communists according to which all that is preventing socialist revolution in Italy (or France) is the revisionist policy of the country's Communist Party. In reality, the most obvious, decisive obstacle to socialism in Western Europe is U.S. imperialism, and it seems out of place for an American left with no visible power or strategy to halt U.S. repression of an eventual socialist revolution in Western Europe to carp at European leftists for reluctance to turn their countries into Quang Tri.

Lacking any mass movement, some American Marxists look at the big French or Italian working class movements and wonder why, with all those troops, they don't storm the fortress. It may be better

"serving the American left," as Neuberger puts it, to try to point out why they don't. Whether or not one agrees with them, it is useful to understand the positions of the French and Italian Communist Parties for the simple reason that they exist. The "French extra-parliamentary left of Gorz and Sartre" that Neuberger wants to hear from unfortunately does not. Of course Gorz and Sartre, as isolated voices without any mass following or political responsibilities are congenial to equally isolated American leftists; their independence allows them to make the same sort of valid criticisms of parties and leaders that we can and do make ourselves. But neither they nor anyone else now has a clear strategy for making socialist revolution in the West.

This, I think, is a point that needs to be stressed: of course the Communist Parties are not about to make a socialist revolution, but neither is anyone else, because frankly, nobody knows *how* at this point. Sectarian buck-passing constantly obscures this truth. In both France and Italy, the far left is in a state of crisis because of inability to develop a plausible revolutionary strategy. This is not because they are stupid or traitorous but because the problems to be faced are really enormous.

Among such problems confronting the Italian left are (1) the mobility of capital away from militant labor movements and (2) the fragility of a high standard of living owing much to pillage and exploitation of Third World countries. In view of these factors, a number of leaders of the Italian new left have been ahead of Berlinguer in warning against the dead end of purely economic demands and in calling for "cultural revolution." Coming to grips with unpleasant reality is not only "opportunism" but also the only source of really useful ideas.

Bernard H. Moss replies:

1. In regard to the strike of May-June 1968, Leland Neuberger says that it was "genuinely spontaneous" and "anti-authoritarian." While I doubt that any movement is ever genuinely spontaneous—all have some organizing elements, even if they are anti-authoritarian—I agree that the events had an anti-authoritarian character in some sectors. But this does not necessarily mean that it was anti-capitalist or socialist. President Carter, too, is anti-authoritarian. The student movement in France, Italy, and the U.S. has always contained elements that were either anti-socialist or that served the interests of the existing capitalist order.

2. Regarding the Eurocommunists, while I obviously believe they have found the best approach to socialism in Western Europe, I am not "uncritical." In future articles I hope to explore some of the questions raised by Neuberger. I would suggest, however, that the extra-parliamentary left, which is hopelessly divided in Italy and practically nonexistent in France, is not the place to find answers.

3. I find Neuberger's concern about achieving "a society whose self-organizing principle is anti-authoritarian" to be utopian. All socialist societies today and for a long time to come, I think, will have to contain a mix of autonomy and authority, of direct participation and representative centralization. The point the Eurocommunists wish to make is that this authority must be based on the democratic consent of the people.

related policies that are aimed at preserving our national security against a commonly accepted Russian "menace." By removing this preoccupation in the form of preserving and extending detente and pushing hard for disarmament, class tensions and struggles may well get articulated in different and, hopefully, more constructive ways.

—Raymond S. Franklin
Queens College of CUNY

Staughton Lynd

Labor and the Law: Grieving: five steps to failure

A retired Chicago steelworker has written a wonderful book. Charles Spencer's *Blue Collar: an internal examination of the workplace* is available from Lakeside Charter Books, P.O. Box 7651, Chicago, Ill. 60680, for \$4.95.

Spencer's message is that the grievance-arbitration procedure, the heart of the typical collective bargaining agreement, is "five steps to failure." He does *not* condemn trade unions as inherently repressive. He does *not* argue that collective bargaining necessarily functions to limit workers' power on the shop floor. His thesis is more sophisticated and precise: that collective bargaining in the U.S. today is an unequal relationship, the effect of which is to remove problems from the workplace and to put their resolution in the hands of decision-makers who are not accountable to the rank-and-file worker.

This thesis challenges the central myth of modern American labor law. According to the myth, propagated particularly by justice William O. Douglas, American workers have voluntarily given up the right to strike in exchange for binding arbitration. In the words of several Douglas-authored Supreme Court opinions, binding arbitration is the "quid pro quo" for the sake of which workers gladly surrendered the right to strike for the duration of a contract.

This is nonsense. Historically, workers have chosen binding arbitration only when the right to strike was not available. Such was the case with all employees during World War II, and so it is with public employees now. The average worker, given a free choice between the right to strike without binding arbitration, or binding arbitration without the right to strike, would choose the strike power. The average worker perceives arbitration not as a friend, but as an enemy.

This is powerfully documented by Spen-

cer in relating 25 years' experience in the mill.

More than 500 grievances are filed each year in the Republic Steel plant in South Chicago where Spencer worked. In Step One the grievant confronts his or her own foreman and the grievance is usually denied. It then goes to Step Two, where the superintendent, who told the foreman what to do in the first place, once more denies the grievance in (Spencer estimates) nine cases out of ten.

"In Step Three, the grievance becomes more depersonalized. The aggrieved worker and the boss have been eased out of it. It has become a matter between the company's industrial relations officers and the chairman of the union's grievance committee." Spencer characterizes the Third Step as follows:

Industrial relations people come to Step Three with attache cases filled with past arbitration decisions, grievance settlements that bear the union's signature, copies of local agreements agreed to by the union, and a dossier on the aggrieved worker, all lined up to sustain the company's position. What new weapon does the union representative have to beat down the company's massive defenses? Nothing that wasn't previously demonstrated in Steps One and Two. The facts in the grievance don't change. The language of the contract doesn't change. History is on the side of the company....

The decision whether to appeal from Step Three to Step Four is made not by the grievant, nor even by any member of the grievant's local union, but by a staff man appointed by the international union. The staff man's decision is final. Usually he decides not to appeal, "often for strategic reasons unexplained either to the worker or to the local union." If the staff man does appeal, another six months or a year go by

before Step Four proceedings.

At Step Four, the company's industrial relations superintendent, together with a corporation attorney, negotiate with the union staff man. There are no new facts. The only thing new is "that the people making the decision are now one more step removed from the workplace."

Spencer describes one grievance "settled" at Step Four. The grievant was nicknamed Ziggy.

Ziggy wasn't at the hearing. Neither was his grievanceman. Nobody who actually worked in the plant was present at the fourth step hearing....

A half-dozen grievances were on the agenda that day. Ziggy's was the final one to be considered. The others had been speeded through, agreed by both sides to have "no merit." The company observed sarcastically that appealing so many chickenhit grievances to fourth step was the reason they were so far behind in settling grievances. The international staffman was inclined to agree. The staffman turned to his witness and asked, "What do you know about this (Ziggy's) grievance?"...

The chairman of the grievance committee responding to the staffman's question shook his head and answered that there was "nothing to it." He apologized for allowing the grievance to be put on the fourth step agenda.

Thus ended Ziggy's year-long fight for an apprenticeship he thought belonged to him. The company industrial relations superintendent reached into his briefcase and brought out a well-worn rubber stamp, pressed it to the ink pad, and slammed it hard onto the back of the grievance form. He signed it and then handed it to the staffman for his signature. It read, "Withdrawn by mutual consent of the union and the company."

After Step Four there is still the possibility of Step Five: arbitration. At Republic



Steel in South Chicago, fewer than 20 of the more than 500 grievances filed each year are heard by an arbitrator. Nationally, according to Spencer, it is estimated that only 2-3 percent of the grievances filed annually are ever arbitrated. In many workplaces, no grievance has ever been arbitrated because a small local union cannot afford the expense. (Although the international union decides whether a grievance should be arbitrated, the local union pays for it.)

One final fact: about two-thirds of the time the arbitrator decides for the company. Multiply 3 percent by 1/3 and you get the conclusion that a worker in American industry who files a grievance has 1 chance in 100 of a favorable decision in arbitration.

Spencer concludes: "Unless a powerful democratic movement among rank-and-file workers develops, collective bargaining will continue to head in the direction of tighter and tighter controls in the hands of the top union leadership, with greater and greater restrictions on the rights of members to decide on their labor agreements or to call a strike in their workplace, more ambiguities and complexities to frustrate any challenge to management in the plants, greater intervention by the State on the side of employers, with more frequent use of court injunctions against unions to enforce industrial peace."

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and anti-war activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited *Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers*. His column appears regularly.

Readers interested in corresponding directly with Lynd can write him at 1694 Timbers Court, Niles, Ohio 44446.

Edward Greer

Are our cities being sacrificed? Some may be scheduled for destruction

Copyright ©1977 by Edward Greer

Given the current inability of American capitalism to solve people's pressing daily problems, it is not surprising that demands that the populace reduce its "unreasonably" high expectations and accept a permanently diminished standard of living are increasingly heard on all sides. One of the latest and most horrifying examples of this trend among the ruling class' intellectual pace-setters is the notion of urban triage, which has appeared in the current issue of *The Public Interest*.

The Public Interest is the key domestic policy organ of right-wing social democrats centered around Nathan Glazer, Irving Kristol, Daniel Bell, and Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan. Since ideas put forward by this group are often translated into policy by the ruling class, they bear close watching, whether or not their ideas are intellectually sound.

A few years ago Moynihan's friend and collaborator at Harvard University, Edward Banfield, advocated a policy of "benign neglect" for the cities. Liberal academics quickly and overwhelmingly pointed out that this policy was both racist and unworkable. But as Nixon's key domestic policy advisor Banfield's program in substance expressed in his book *The Unheavenly City*, was adopted just the same. The results of the past several years of allowing free market forces free reign in the cities has not been the improvement of housing, urban infra-structures, and real income which Banfield and Moynihan prognosticated. On the contrary, massive urban dis-

investment—of which "redlining" has been only the tip of the iceberg—has been the order of the day. Our central cities are substantially deteriorated in their conditions compared to a decade ago.

The publication as the lead article in *The Public Interest* of a piece, "On the Death of Cities," is a warning siren of the proposed next stage of establishment urban policy. It is the stage of the direct destruction of the central cities.

►Urban triage.

The article centers on the concept of "urban triage." The political problem for its proponents is how effectively to carry out this policy while disguising it as much as possible. If only, the article says, "long-term, objective calculations—made by policy analysts—of marginal rates of return on investments in different neighborhoods" were the order of the day. Unfortunately, the author goes on, obstreperous urban dwellers tend to interfere by political protest and this results in the preferred mode of decision-making being "replaced by short-term political calculations by elected officials showing visible compassion."

As a poem by Bertold Brecht ironically suggested, it is a pity that the government, having lost confidence in the people, cannot abolish them by decree! It is well to recall that the editors of *The Public Interest* are the very selfsame cold war intellectuals who concocted the notion that public involvement in civic life should be strictly limited. To Daniel Bell, Seymour M. Lipset, and Robert Dahl unleashing the mass-

es in the political arena was a prescription for social disaster.

In this stance the leading corporate ideologists in the U.S. abandon their own political heritage. The revolutionary idea of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's that the people are sovereign only when they directly participate in and control the policy is now forewarned. In its place *The Public Interest* crowd, speaking on behalf of the real masters of American society, demand a political system administered from the top down with ever-declining popular participation.

►Banker power.

Direct banker control over New York City finances is a current example of how this trend is put into operation. And we can anticipate many more initiatives of this sort as new domestic crises develop.

The diminution of democratic control over political life is necessary from the perspective of the ruling class because they understand that the working people of this country are simply not going to voluntarily surrender all the economic and social gains they have won over the past century of struggle. As I pointed out in my last column, the strategy of the ruling class, therefore, is to concentrate its offensive against the poorest and least well organized and most discriminated sectors of the working class—central city inhabitants and racial minorities. "Urban triage" is quite simple. The policy analysts choose entire cities (not merely neighborhoods) for complete destruction. No effort is made to maintain or in-

duce any capital expenditures in them, and social services are progressively reduced until all that is left is minimal police occupation to prevent disorders. The city is allowed literally to die as a functioning entity.

The justification for this policy is that as on the battlefield during combat when there are inadequate medical resources to go around, the most severely wounded are sacrificed to save the rest. And in the inhuman monstrosity of war, such behavior is perhaps the kindest possible.

But to analogize the entire American society to a battlefield is insane. For of course there is enough, nay more than enough, to provide a decent urban environment for all our people. It is only the irrationality of the capitalist mode of production that prevents human energies from being applied to the task.

Throughout the socialist world, whatever their internal problems and weaknesses, the conditions of urban life undergo constant amelioration. Unlike Newark, Budapest and Peking are far better places to live than they were a decade ago; and doubtless they will be even better a decade hence.

But for our country—the one with the most advanced technology in human history—another fate is in store. Our central cities are now being marked for obliteration. Their slogan is: "Two, three, many Newarks." What is our reply?

Edward Greer is a former aide of Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Ind., and teaches urban studies at Roosevelt University, Chicago. His column appears regularly.



LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS

Hockey violence means money

"From here on in the rules will be 'no penalties and limited substitutions.'"
—Coach to players in Rollerball

During the early '60s, when I was playing high school hockey in Canada, the emphasis was on skating and passing. For years I awoke from my sleep hearing the coach scream "Rosenblum, move your ass out there!" But the game is different now. This change was symbolized to me by the Detroit Red Wings' recently introducing boxing competitions into their practices.

Violence is delivering a death-blow to hockey. This is not to say that hockey used to be a non-aggressive game, or to forget such "dirty players" as Eddie Shore, Ted Lindsay, Lou Fontinato and the discreet violence of Gordie Howe. While there have always been violent moments in hockey, it is only since league expansion in the '70s that violence has become an integral part of the game.

This trend is most evidenced by the play of the highly successful Philadelphia Flyers—alias the Broad Street Bullies—and has brought forth loud cries that hockey, as we used to know it, is disappearing. The Montreal Canadians, symbolizing speed and fluidity, are the only reminder of the past as the Flyers' violent intimidation has taken over.

"If it's pretty skating they want to see, let 'em go to the Ice Capades."

—Coach Fred Shero of the Philadelphia Flyers

The change in the game extends far beyond the professional leagues. Kids are influenced by NHL hockey on television and often urged on by their coaches, who stress headhunting as much as stick-handling and shooting as part of their repertoire.

After a terribly bloody Junior B game in April 1974, which required 14 police officers to restore order, the Minister of Community and Social Services for the province of Ontario directed a Toronto attorney, William R. McMurty, to hold a full-scale investigation into violence in amateur hockey. Not surprisingly, the National Hockey League was singled out as "the strongest influence contributing to increased violence in amateur hockey in Ontario," due to the NHL's "emphasis on winning and the use of violence as a tactical instrument to achieve that goal."

"When the evidence strongly indicates that there is a conscious effort to sell violence in hockey to enrich a small group of show-business entrepreneurs at the expense of a great sport (not to mention the corruption of an entire generation's concept of sport) then one's concern grows to outrage."

—William R. McMurty

The obvious question is what caused the change in hockey. Part of the answer lies in the simple fact that the new style of hockey is efficient—it produces victories and profits. Instead of utilizing the skills of stick handling and even passing, most teams are content to carry the puck to center ice, dump it into the offensive zone, and try to knock the retrieving team off it.

Skills such as holding, hooking, elbowing and cross-checking, plus the muscle to back it up, become major factors in a game where intimidation plays a major role in determining who wins and who loses. The "dump it in" pattern cuts the rink in half, all but negating the greater speed of today's skaters. It allows little continuity to the play because the puck is often left uncontrolled. This style is so simple and repetitive that it quickly becomes boring to the fan of the "old" hockey.

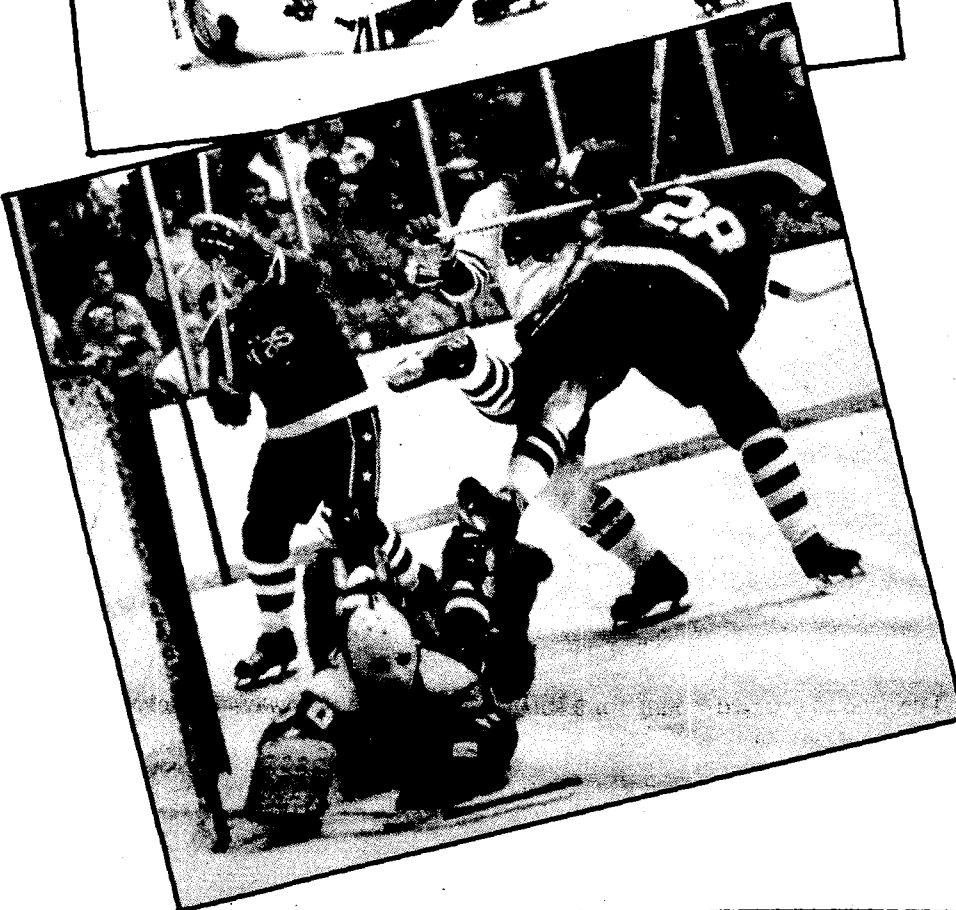
"I'm looking for guys you toss raw meat to and they go wild."

—Harry Ballard, president of Toronto Maple Leafs

An often heard explanation for the increase in violence in hockey is that blood thirsty American fans are destroying hockey. Supposedly the prospect of bloodletting is necessary to lure Americans to the rink, and a fight a night is necessary to keep them happy.

In order to be properly understood and evaluated, this argument must be put into perspective. In Canada, where hockey has been a way of life, the love of the game springs from a deep understanding of it. But as hockey critic Stan Fischler remarked, in the U.S. the NHL "was catering to a fan whose only previous connection with ice had been a highball."

Hardly anyone who goes to a hockey game in the U.S. has ever played the game and they have yet to fully grasp the essentials of the game. "The fans," said John MacFarlane, coauthor of *The Death of Hockey*, "are being used. Sure, some of them enjoy the violence, but that does not mean they would not prefer displays



Kids are influenced by NHL hockey on TV and often urged on by their coaches, who stress headhunting as much as stick-handling and shooting as part of their repertoire.

of the athlete's skill, for which it is so cynically substituted. What the owners are saying is: 'It doesn't matter whether we give the suckers a good hockey game as long as we give them a fight.'"

Rather than educating people about the skill and finesse in hockey, the owners in chase of the quick dollar are practically marketing brawls. In response to this criticism we get only the cynical opportunism of veteran hockey promoter Conn Smythe: "Yes, we've got to stamp out this sort of

thing or people are going to keep on buying tickets." Hopefully the owners are wrong and there are enough connoisseurs of the old fashioned amusement to make an effective protest. If not, hockey as it used to be performed will pass into memory.

—Simon Rosenblum

Simon Rosenblum is a Canadian currently living in the U.S. In five years of organized hockey his main (only) claim to fame was that he never received a penalty.

Rocky, Muhammad Ali and Race

This year's movie hit *Rocky* is the most recent of several fine American films about boxing. *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, *The Great White Hope*, and John Huston's superb *Fat City* come to mind.

Prize fighting has always been a way up and out for underclass kids, but for every Sugar Ray or Carmen Basillio who makes it there are thousands who don't, so a frequent figure in boxing films has been the pug who blew his big shot or never had one. Terry Malloy in *On the Waterfront* speaks for them all when he laments, "I coulda been somebody. I coulda been a contender."

Rocky Balboa becomes both a contender and, by his own measure, a somebody. A 30 year old club fighter and collector for a South Philly loan shark, Rocky is chosen by Apollo Creed, black world champ, for a short at his heavyweight crown.

Making a "snow white nobody" a contender, claims Apollo, will prove America the land of opportunity in the bicentennial

year. But Rocky, inspired by a new love (Talia Shire) and a sage manager (Burgess Meredith) refuses to play chump in the hyped fight. He trains furiously, gives as good as he gets, and becomes the first to go the distance with Creed. He loses a split decision but wins 150 grand, true love, and his self-respect.

Go see it. It's a delightful film, far richer than any summary can convey. But the story is simple.

And familiar. Apollo Creed is closely modeled on Muhammad Ali and the Rocky Balboa story obviously inspired by Ali's title defense against lowly Chuck Wepner in March 1975. Ali, fresh from his redemption in Kinshasa, had bestowed an unmerited opportunity on the eighth-ranked erstwhile bar bouncer. The Bayonne Bleeder hung tough, lasting until the final seconds of the 15th, winning general good will and the grudging respect of Ali.

Stallone's debt to Ali goes beyond these borrowings, however. *Rocky* would have

been inconceivable had not Muhammad been center ring for 15 years, sticking his jab into the beehives of American racism and bringing out the honey. Whatever the limits imposed by the nation, however tiresome his standard riffs have become, Ali's immense presence has altered the consciousness of millions of black and white Americans and created the context in which a film such as *Rocky* can signify.

Follow the motif of race through the film. *Rocky* is set in the city of brotherly love and Frank Rizzo, and shot mostly in the Italian south side. Blacks are seen only around Mickey's Gym where a distanced equality prevails: Rocky is pissed when a black comer is given his locker, but he can jive with the brothers at the door. The hero is not a honk. At the neighborhood bar he champions Apollo when the owner slanders him. Rocky is pleased by Apollo's skillful deflection of press questions about the racial matchup and the champ's projection of Rocky as his equal. He is pa-

tiently bemused when an officious black woman reporter prods him through an interview.

In the climactic fight scene Rocky does not play "white hope." The only folks he greets on his walk to the ring are some brothers from the Gym. He shares the crowd's affectionate amusement at Apollo's outrageous entrance as George Washington/Uncle Sam. At the end of the long fight both exhausted men are respectful victors. "Ain't gonna be no rematch," gasps Apollo. "Don't want one," answers Rocky. Apollo has been made mortal. Rocky has become a man. A just resolution as the age of Ali passes into art.

Blame neither Stallone nor Muhammad if part of the film's audience wants only to see the lippy nigger whipped. That is their problem, and ours.

—Jack Russell

Jack Russell lives in Detroit and writes on sport regularly for *In These Times*.

"But it was a tragically long time before anyone else was able to make it through the breach in the wall that Trumbo had made...."

Blacklist

Continued from page 24.

resulted in the proscription) and there was a rumor that Nathan E. Douglas was a pseudonym for blacklisted writer/actor Ned Young. When the two men appeared on stage (and national TV) to claim their gold statuette before an audience of their peers, Young's cover was blown, and with it a chunk of the Chinese wall of blacklist.

Ned Young had also been the instrument—a few months earlier—of the first break in the blacklisting of actors. (Although there has been comparatively little said or written about it, this was a much crueler aspect of the blacklist than that applied to writers. Actors—and for that matter anyone who had to turn up for work in person—could not operate behind a "front.")

What happened in Young's case was an act of atonement on the part of Sterling Hayden, a rising star of the late '40s who had been persuaded to "give the Committee a few names" as the price of being allowed to continue his career. There is a story, partially substantiated in Hayden's autobiographical book, *The Wanderer*, that he went to one of the men he had fingered and said he meant to repent publicly for his cowardice, denounce the committee and take the consequences. He was advised that such dramatic action would do nothing for those he had injured, that if he waited and watched for an opportunity, he would some day find a way to make his apology meaningful.

The opportunity came when Hayden was casting a film in which he was to star and decided to use Ned Young for a small part. Young had been on the brink of stardom as a "replacement" for the late Humphrey Bogart when his defiance of HUAC made him an untouchable. There was no one on the set who did not recognize him the first day he showed up for work.

In no time at all Hedda Hopper was on the phone to Hayden. The lady was accustomed to using her gossip column in the Hearst press as a nightstick to police the industry, and she threatened the actor/producer with dire punishment for his breach of the unwritten law. But Hayden had prepared himself to resist.

He reminded Hopper that MGM had just released an expensive Elvis Presley feature called *Jail House Rock*, with Ned Young's name on the screen as author of the original story. (It was not legally possible to remove the name of a writer responsible for original material.) "You get MGM to take Young's name off their pic-

ture, and I'll take him out of mine," he told her. Young played the part, and there was no cannonade from Hopper, no picket lines at the box office.

Thirdly, there were other individual challengers of the blacklist. If any single champion were to get credit for victory on this front, a good case could be made for Ben Barzman, a writer who was in Europe when the blacklist was instituted and who chose not to return until it was ended.

(Barzman had been named by at least one informer, which qualified him for blacklisting even though he was never subpoenaed. One did not need to refuse to cooperate on the witness stand. To have "evaded" or failed to respond to a summons was enough.)

The film on which Barzman was working when the blacklist hit was a film version of *Christ in Concrete*, directed by Edward Dmytryk, the member of the Hollywood Ten who later turned informer. That film, retitled *Give Us This Day*, was shown in the U.S. in the first days of the ban against the work of blacklisted professionals.

A few years later, in 1956, Barzman and writer/director Jules Dassin (whose status was similar to Barzman's) wrote the screen play of *He Who Must Die*, (chiefly remembered for its introduction of actress Melina Mercouri). The film was chosen by France as that nation's entry in the Cannes Film Festival and played art houses in the U.S. very successfully, despite pressures on exhibitors by the leadership of the projectionists' union.

Barzman then teamed with another blacklisted director, Joseph Losey, on a pair of very lucrative low-budget films made in England in 1957 and 1958. *Time Without Pity* and *Blind Date* (also billed as *Chance Meeting*) were hailed in the British press, not always friendly to Americans who come to "take jobs away" from British artists and craftsmen, as evidence that Hollywood's loss was the British film industry's gain. The films are still run frequently in film series as examples of financially successful "little" films.

Barzman's contribution to the breaking of the blacklist is not only the number of credits he got during the worst, first years but also—and more importantly—his demonstration that there was money to be made by defying the paper tigers guarding the gates of Hollywood.

As a result of these three strains of resistance and counterattack, and the changing political climate at the end of the Eisenhower era, the blacklist was so nearly unenforceable that the stage seemed set for a demonstration of the domino theory. In 1960 when Preminger put Trumbo's name on *Exodus*, the first domino toppled the second, and Universal gave Trumbo credit on *Spartacus*. A few days later Frank

"Trumbo himself would never have left so many loose ends of story lying around to be tripped over...."

Trumbo

Continued from page 24.

to survive. And there is a suspenseful crescendo of small victories leading to the climactic moment in January 1960 when producer Otto Preminger decided to make public acknowledgement of Trumbo's authorship of the shooting script of *Exodus*. A few weeks later Universal and actor/producer Kirk Douglas announced that Trumbo had also written the final version of *Spartacus*.

Two major credits in a single season! And thus, says Cook, the blacklist was finally broken.

This simplification—not to say falsification—of history is a major flaw in the book because it misleads the reader in a matter of importance. It is worth an attempt to set the record straight (see the accompanying article) because anyone who believes that the blacklist was broken by a single individual will never draw the relevant conclusions from this example of sustained, collective struggle against repression.

The fault lies partly in Cook's approach to his material, which is that of a journalist, not an historian. He obviously came under the spell of a potent spellbinder and forgot—or never learned—that a biographer must maintain a certain insulating distance from his subject.

This lack of distance results in another flaw in the book. Trumbo was a more complex and compelling character than any he ever created, on paper or on film.

Sinatra announced that he had hired Albert Maltz, another of the Hollywood Ten, to adapt *The Execution of Private Slovik* for the screen. It looked as if the whole wall was giving way.

But this was the warm-up of the John F. Kennedy campaign, and Sinatra was part of the inner circle of the Kennedy clan. Some extraordinary pressure—believed by many to have been applied by Father (Ambassador) Joseph—forced him into a humiliating recantation, published in the *New York Times* on April 12.

"In view of the reaction of my family, my friends and the American public, I have instructed my attorney to make a settlement with Albert Maltz and to inform him that he will not write the screen play for *The Execution of Private Slovik*.

"I had thought the major consideration was whether or not the resulting script would be in the best interests of the United States.

"Since my conversations with Mr. Maltz indicated that he had an affirmative, pro-

In a book that takes his name as its title, one has a right to expect that character to be fully realized. Cook does not pull it off.

There are too many blank spaces, too many skimmed relationships, too many close shots without reverse angles. Trumbo himself would never have left so many loose ends of story lying around to be tripped over. He would, for example, never have started a love story with a whirlwind courtship only to drop the heroine from any significant participation in the "ever after." And if Trumbo had set up a character by having one of his friends observe that "You either love him or you hate him. There are people in Hollywood, lots of them, who hate him," he would have made drama by running the contradiction to earth. Cook justifies the lovers and leaves the haters in the limbo of the irrelevant.

One cannot quarrel with a biographer who chooses to treat only that aspect of his subject's life that is interesting to a large public. There are political biographies of politicians and literary biographies of literary figures. But Cook has chosen neither of those forms, nor addressed the questions they would concern themselves with. For example, he raises but never answers the question, why a writer of distinguished talent should choose, against his better judgment, to fritter away that talent on undistinguished material.

What is offered in *Dalton Trumbo* is as much of the man as Trumbo cared to expose and his friends cared to elaborate. The result is a work that does the man less justice and at once illumines and distorts the important conflicts of his times.

—Janet Stevenson

American approach to the story, and since I felt fully capable as producer of enforcing such standards, I have defended my hiring of Mr. Maltz.

"But the American public has indicated it feels the morality of hiring Albert Maltz is the more crucial matter, and I will accept this majority opinion."

Both *Exodus* and *Spartacus* were picketed—ineffectually—by last-ditchers including the Catholic War Veterans, but the films made money and that meant the blacklist was shot. At least for Trumbo. He was employable anywhere at as good or better money than he had made in the old days. And it was immediately easier for other blacklisted writers to get black-market work for more than the pittance they had been receiving.

But it was a tragically long time before anyone else—writer, actor or director—was able to make it across the moat through the breach in the wall that Trumbo had made in single combat.

—Janet Stevenson

IN THESE TIMES

Send me In These Times
for the next 3 months
for \$5

name _____
street _____
city/state/zip _____

\$5 gift subscription for...

name _____
street _____
city/state/zip _____

Mail your check to...

New Majority Publishing Co.
1509 N. Milwaukee Av.
Chicago, IL 60622

Send me 50 weeks of
In These Times
for \$15

name _____
street _____
city/state/zip _____

Gift subscriptions for...

name _____
street _____
city/state/zip _____

city/state/zip _____

name _____
street _____
city/state/zip _____

From our Circulation Desk...

Beginning with this issue, we will publish a bi-weekly report on circulation. We are doing so because readers have requested information on our progress, and also to suggest ideas for boosting local sales and subscriptions. Readers' ideas and suggestions are invited.

Second class permit: The Post Office has informed us that our second class permit has been granted. This is a big step forward for us, since it means that from now on the paper will be given "newspaper" treatment, and should be getting to subscribers on or before the date of publication (which is five days after it is actually printed). So, all of you who have preferred to buy the paper in bookstores or newsstands because the mail took so long can now subscribe and get the paper promptly at home.

Not so incidentally, the second class permit will also save us about \$750 a month in postage.

Subscriptions: After publishing only four months, and with a minimal amount of commercial promotion (we did do one test mailing of 45,000 pieces), we have 4,300 subscribers. Spontaneous subscriptions from our readers and supporters have been averaging 130 a week for the last six weeks. In addition, we are doing another direct mailing in the next few weeks of 90,000 pieces, which we expect will bring in 2,500 or more new subscriptions.

At the current rate of spontaneous subs, plus our anticipated direct mail results, we should have at least 12,000 subscribers by next November—the end of our first year of publication. This is just about what we had projected before we began publication.

We need 25,000 subscribers before the paper can pay its own way. Until then, we will continue to lose money each week. But it now appears certain that we can reach our goal of 25,000 subscribers by some time in our second year. Needless to say, the more help we get from you, the sooner our future will be secure.

Local Distribution: We now send 6,000 papers a week to 65 local distributors in as many cities and towns. About half of these are actually sold (about par for the industry). Most of our distributors are individuals or local groups, and most are in the midwest, northeast, or California. Our distributors have been our single most important help in getting the paper out and known.

We want to make our distributors known to local readers who want to help boost the paper, we will publish the names and addresses of selected local distributors regularly, so that readers can get directly in touch. And we always want new distributors—anyone interested should contact Torie Osborn at *In These Times*.

Los Angeles distributor: Ed Pearl
(213) 392-6226 32 1/4 Dudley Ave.
Venice, CA 90291

New York distributor: Steve Anderson
(212) 499-6452 314 8th Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11215

Both these people need help distributing the paper in their respective cities. Please contact them if you're interested.

STRETCH
retirement dollars
—Liberal Arkansas development—
Homesites, lake
Non-profit building
Information \$1.00 T.S.E.
P.O. Drawer 268, Naperville, IL 60540

Chicago Premiere! Little Flags Theater, a political theater collective from Boston, Mass. will be performing two nights only at The Theater Building at 1225 W. Belmont. They will present *Fanshen* written by David Hare on Tuesday, March 22 and *Tania*, written and directed by Maxine Klein on Wednesday, March 23. Both shows are at 8:00 p.m. Tickets are \$3. Little Flags is being sponsored in Chicago by Bread and Roses Theater.

Goldwater

Continued from page 3.

ity number and social security is deducted from his weekly pay although he does not get any benefits under that program. Whether the funds deducted from the worker are actually turned over to the government we have no way of knowing."

► Everything sold at a profit.

If a worker in the fields is hungry he asks the foreman to bring food, which is delivered "at a profit," says Sanchez. The coyotes also supply food and women to the workers. "They make a profit on everything," he says.

Getting the information to back up his charges has not been easy for the 31 year old Sanchez. He describes how he and the reporters he worked with, only one of whom spoke some Spanish, could only go into the Golmar fields at night. As the workers lived in the orange groves where they worked—with no sanitary or water facilities, he points out—that was the only place where they could be interviewed.

"They keep a very tight control with the foreman and sometimes they have security guards out there," Sanchez says. "The first time we went in they weren't expecting us and everything went good. The night after that they had a couple of pickups out there. They had people with shotguns. They had an airplane flying over us. It was a real trip. They kept chasing over us and trying to pin-point exactly where we were in the groves. Of course we had two cars and we had a walkie-talkie to keep in contact with our two groups and to kind of throw them off base. We did go ahead and found some of the camps where we interviewed workers and took pictures."

Sanchez, who has risked his life many times going into the Golmar fields—both for the current investigation and as an organizer for the United Farm Workers, which is trying to organize the Golmar workers—remains dubious about the effect of public exposure of the Golmar situation. "For a couple of months Golmar is going to hire citizens. But after a couple months, everything will die down, everything will go back to normal and nothing will happen. The same old story over and over again."

HOW DEEP DID
ROOTS
DIG?

In *In These Times* issue #14 featured a special 5-part center-section on varied views of the "Eight Days That Shook the World."

Since we have received requests from many teachers and *Roots* fans for extra copies of this issue, we are making available to our readers issue #14 for only the cost of postage. Place your order today.

I want _____ copies of *In These Times*' special *Roots* issue at 15¢ each to cover postage.

I enclose my check or money order for _____.

Name _____

Street _____

Town _____

State, zip _____

He recalls an earlier occasion in 1972 when he confronted Sen. Goldwater at a dinner at the Betmore Hotel in Phoenix. With about 400 people present, he asked the senator why his brother, Robert Goldwater, "hired and exploited undocumented workers from Mexico." To which Goldwater replied, according to Sanchez's recollection, "If you people will get off your butts and go to work, my brother won't have to hire any wetbacks."

Sanchez sees the only real hope for

change for the Golmar workers lying with the union. "At some point we are going to have to go in there and have a good strike and get a contract and really tie them up." But he admits that it will be an uphill struggle to get to that point. Lupe Sanchez, however, is determined to bring justice to the fields. After the investigative reporters have left the state, he will still be there.

Sam Kushner is a writer based in Los Angeles and the author of *Long Road to Delano*.



"HE KNOWS IT ISN'T REAL BUT IT KEEPS HIM HAPPY."

Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Organization Fifth Annual Conference

HISTORY AND CULTURE:

Legitimation & Resistance in Class Societies

April 16-17

Columbia University
School of International Affairs
420 W. 118th St., NYC

Regular Income: \$6
Low Income: \$4

Pre-Registration Discount:
Regular Income: \$5
Low Income: \$3

MARHO P.O. Box 946 New York, N.Y. 10025

CHEAP!

You won't find better phototypesetting at better prices. Papers, posters, leaflets, you name it:

IN THESE TIMES

In Chicago, 489-4444

WE SPECIALIZE IN SERVICE TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

THEATER



Lily Tomlin's comedy celebrates survivors

"They have no sense of humor and they're against sex."

That was a frequently expressed criticism of the women's liberation movement in its early days. Anyone who still believes it ought to see Lily Tomlin's one woman show.

At a recent Chicago performance, the audience—male and female—laughed uproariously all the way through what is basically

a feminist routine. And as for sex, it comes up again and again: sex for the elderly, sex for the handicapped—even quadriplegic; the mixture of sexual feelings, awe and love of a seven-year-old girl for her teacher.

Some of the material was written for this production (which is on its way to New York and may tour other cities if it is as successful as its try-out promises). Some

of the sketches—or at least the characters—are already familiar to TV audiences ("Laugh In," "Saturday Night," et al.).

A remarkable proportion of Tomlin's comedy deals directly with feminist issues. Battered wives aren't usually the stuff of humor, unless it's the kind that treats women's suffering as a joke. But Tomlin has a ten-minute sketch that's very funny, and

"Their good-humored determination...their wry sense of what the world's about make you laugh and leave you feeling hopeful."

also leaves you with respect for the two characters, the organist who left her husband and Linda who should.

The respect you're left with for the essential humanity of all Tomlin's characters is the real basis of feminism in her comedy. She makes fun without making fun of. Her humor nurtures, rather than puts down. Her characters, in real life, would seem pathetic. Yet their good-humored determination in the face of enormous obstacles, their wry sense of what the world's about make you laugh and leave you feeling hopeful.

A woman who's just been released from a mental hospital says that *they* say she's well, but then, *they're* still in there. A quadriplegic drives her wheelchair across the U.S., steering and accelerating by special breath-operated controls, chattering into her CB radio. Sex for the handicapped, she says, everyone says it's disgusting. "That's what Danny's mother said when she found us together in his iron lung."

Then there's Boogie Lady. At 77 she has a sort of gospel-rock advice-to-the-elderly radio show. Sample advice: To a woman who writes from a nursing home that they serve Jello almost every night: "Start a riot." (It turns out the woman can't, because everyone there likes Jello.) Tomlin manages to play Boogie Lady without putting down the elderly or listeners to such radio shows. Boogie Lady is, in her own way, a kind of heroine. She's saying, you can keep going even if you are old, even if they say you can't. "Boogie can't sit still long enough to have its picture took," she cries.

She creates wise comedy out of how we feel about stars, the figures who we make larger than our own lives. A middle-aged organist's eyes sparkle and her voice grows husky and dramatic as she describes seeing Frank Sinatra. A seven-year-old fantasizes about having her teacher for a friend. "I mean, I just didn't have a lot in common with a bunch of seven-year-old semi-illiterates."

Tomlin knows that her fans adore her, too, and she demystifies the magic she creates as much as possible. At one point she steps out of character to comment on how a sketch is put together and reads one-liners from her notebook, as illustrations of the building blocks that go into routines.

Her superb timing, her various voices and accents, her ability to create many atmospheres with a minimum of props all contribute to keeping her audience with her every step of the way. But above all, it's her affirmation of humanity that counts.

In the 1950s, male "sick" comedians used scorn to expose problems a complacent society was trying to ignore. The audience could draw strength from being able to face the problems although the performer's scorn occasionally spilled over onto it. In the '70s, Tomlin creates old, discarded, sick lonely and just plain odd characters who keep laughing, and keep us laughing as they struggle not just to survive, but to prevail. Her feminist humor reaches into us, where we feel most vulnerable, and we leave her performance with some of the wacky, life-affirming strength she projects.

—Judy MacLean

No superstar—Phil Ochs was one of us

The old Leona Theater in Homestead, Pa., shook under the pounding, clapping, and whistling of 1,500 steelworkers last month. Pete Seeger was playing a benefit for Ed Sadlow's insurgent campaign. Sadlowski jumped onto the stage to embrace Seeger in front of a massive tapestry of the bloody 1892 Homestead-Carnegie Strike, a lot of good union men talked class struggle, and not a few people had the time of their lives.

"The one sad note in the whole evening," the organizer of the concert telegraphed Michael Ochs in California, "was that Phil wasn't there to play and to savor the night."

In 1965 Bob Dylan recorded "Like a Rolling Stone" and folk-rock crashed the pop barrier. Phil Ochs, like Tim Hardin and Eric Anderson, thought he had a chance to go all the way with Dylan. But Dylan understood the limits of the media. "Maybe you think you're gonna do what I did. Nobody's gonna do it."

Dylan's move to rock enraged the moles of the New York folk scene, but it increased his audience ten-fold. Rock had become

the folk music of the '50s and '60s. Ochs understood what was happening. He admired Dylan's first electric album, *Bringing it All Back Home*, but he could not follow. The sardonic writer of "Draft Dodger Rag," "Ringing of Revolution," and "I Ain't Marchin' Anymore" continued to record "topical music," as he called it.

When Ochs finally made the move to rock in 1970 with his Elvis Presley/Buddy Holly influenced *Greatest Hits* album and tour, it was much too late. The territory had been claimed, settled, and plowed under.

But to hundreds of thousands in the civil rights and anti-war movements, Phil's presence counted as much as his music. So what if he didn't write like Bob Dylan? It was Phil Ochs, more than Dylan or Joan Baez or any other performer, who could be called up to play benefits or to roust a demonstration with a few bars of "The War Is Over." After his motorcycle accident, Dylan punked out. He retreated to royalties and country pie in Wood-

stock, N.Y., while Ochs stayed in the streets with the rest of us.

Ochs was a pacifist in the beginning, but he was too American to remain non-violent. A socialist, he never developed much of an analysis. He fought with his heart. Later he ran with the Yippies, with Jerry Rubin and Stew Alpert, partly because elements of the hyperserious left could not understand his move away from pure folk music, partly because he was a media freak like the Yips.

Ochs finally broke with Rubin's politics on a month-long speed run across South America in the fall of 1971. Ochs told Rubin he was an ass to flaunt dope-smoking in Allende's Chile.

But a year later, Phil's good times had become too crazy for most of his friends. On a 1972 African trip he would down his first beer at 9 a.m. In Johannesburg he fell off the stage, drunk, to the joy of the apartheid press.

But he kept playing.

He had no illusions about George McGovern's liberal politics, but he felt that the quickest way to end the war was to de-

feat Nixon. He toured for the McGovern campaign. He set up the 1974 "Evening with Salvador Allende" in Madison Square Garden, standing with Arlo Guthrie, Allende's widow, and, yes, Dylan.

I hoped Ochs could make the transition from performer to organizer. The left needed a person to put together benefits, and Ochs was respected by both performers and the movement. But to Ochs, setting up concerts was conceding failure as a musician.

"I'll never kick the habit of writing songs," he wrote on the back of his second album. That was in 1965. When he died he hadn't written a song for six years.

Phil went dry partly for personal reasons. Partly he quit writing for lack of support. The folk fans dropped away when he reached out for a broader audience. The music industry hardly welcomed a political folksinger who recorded tunes like "Love Me, I'm a Liberal"—especially when they didn't sell like Dylan's *Blonde on Blonde*.

But most of all Phil could not handle the breakup of the '60s civil rights and anti-war movement. In that, he was like thousands of others. With the battles won, the movement—always soft on organization and long-range analysis—fell apart.

In the past few years veterans of the '60s have begun to regroup. Grassroots fights in communities and factories are popping out across the country.

The possibility of a new movement came too late for Phil. "I'm dying," he was already telling friends in the winter of 1974. He alternated between obesity and gauntness. When he lost 60 pounds, friends forced him to see doctors. The diagnosis each time: "nothing physical."

Phil killed himself one year ago this month. He used a rope.

When Dylan dies, it will be like the death of a Hollywood film star. People will be fascinated, but they won't cry. Ochs was not a superstar. He was one of us. Maybe that's why so many cried when he died.

—Steve Chapple

Steve Chapple writes regularly for *In These Times*.

FILM

Dirty Harry, lawless defender of order

THE ENFORCER

Starring Clint Eastwood
Directed by James Fargo for Malpaso Productions

The Enforcer is a very, very popular film. On the basis of current *Variety* figures, it should gross between \$35 and \$40 million worldwide. Its impact on its public? Sitting in a local bar after I had watched the film, I heard a comment from a woman graduate student that summed it up.

"It makes me want to go out and shoot someone," she said.

This is the third film constructed around Clint Eastwood's characterization of Harry Callahan, the ultra-reactionary anti-hero of the San Francisco police department. Like its two predecessors (*Dirty Harry* and *Magnum Force*), it is a well-paced melodrama that gives plenty of room for Eastwood to showcase his persona: the tall, cool, soft-spoken man of action, the 20th century cowboy, dealing out frontier justice with his huge .44 Magnum.

The role of the savage hero fits Eastwood's stony visage as perfectly as it fit the male stars in whose tradition he belongs: William S. Hart, Gary Cooper, John Wayne, et al. The character type,

as much as his own charisma, is responsible for Eastwood's fabulous success, which started with his role as the "man with no name" in the Sergio Leone spaghetti westerns of the '60s.

Popularity breeds formula, and *The Enforcer* is an example of giving the audience more of what they seem to want. In all three of the Dirty Harry films, the mythic structure is the same: the hero's town is besieged by forces so violent that only matching violence—the ability and will to kill ruthlessly—can eliminate them and restore "law and order." The citizens need the hero's ruthless skill, but they also fear him for it. He is forced to live a life of solitude, balancing precariously between civilization and savagery.

There is nothing wrong with Harry Callahan. But there is something seriously wrong with the world in which he lives and acts. That is the city of the reactionary imagination, populated by thugs, cops and liberal (weak) government officials. In this world it is right and just to be brutal in order to eliminate the most uncomplicated stereotypical villains seen on the screen since the Apaches of John Ford's *Stagecoach*.



The villains of *The Enforcer* kill purely for pleasure and profit. No other motives are asked for or supplied. They are ripped out of the pages of an urban daily like the *Chicago Tribune*, that is running scared.

Citizens in this nightmare world have no function except the passive one of victim. They are there to be kidnapped, shot, stabbed or blown to jelly. People who live in a state of perpetual fear identify with the objects of this senseless violence and give emotional support to a hero acting within that elemental moral context. They cheer for Dirty Harry as he blows

all the bad men up and away.

It does not seem important that his violence offers no real solution to the problem. He has fulfilled the audience's need for reassurance that there is somewhere—if not a solution to the problems of their daily lives—at least a champion who will defend and protect them. That is what makes Dirty Harry films so popular.

And dangerous.

While the audience is caught up in slick production values, it has no time to question the moral values of the film or their validity in the real world. We watch

the gun battles, the chases, the hero fighting for respect in a world that doesn't understand his ethic, or we get caught up in the relationship between Harry and his female partner, whose allegiance to his philosophy gives her stature as it leads her toward martyrdom—and forget the contradictions and complexities of real life.

What we don't stop to question inside the theater, we may end up dismissing when we step outside.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University.

Portuguese defection poisonous propaganda

MALKO: Spymaster, Number 14—The Portuguese Defection
By Gerard de Villiers
Pinnacle Books, 166 pp, \$1.25

At the height of the recent turmoil in Portugal, I was a dinner guest of the Chief of Staff to Mario Soares, now Prime Minister. While we were eating our main course, my socialist host told me about his contacts with the CIA.

Perhaps he was so loose about it because he assumed that all Americans share the same perspective. What he most admired about the CIA was their analysis of the Portuguese situation. He had no interest in the gadgetry of espionage, feats of physical daring, or the beauty of female spies.

The reality of CIA covert activity is often too prosaic for the writers of pulp fiction, who prefer to present agents as omnipotent, karate-chop killers, rather than mild-mannered Ivy League graduates who impress foreign politicians by their perspicacity. (Or by bribes.)

The Malko series is the most widely-read fictionalization of CIA activities. Its author, who writes under a pseudonym, is reputed to be a French journalist working on a conservative Paris daily. His hero, Prince Malko, is of Austrian royal lineage and a CIA special agent.

In *The Portuguese Defection*, Malko discovers that the Soviet KGB controls every move of the Portuguese Communist Party and groups to its left. The wife of a high-ranking KGB operative wants to defect because her husband is a boor and because she likes the luxuries of the West. (She is, incidentally, a nymphomaniac.)

As the story unfolds, there are numerous soft-core sexual esca-

pades and several grisly deaths. The murders committed by the CIA's heavies are particularly affecting because they are so bizarre, because the Agency's hired hands always find their work humorous. In the end, Malko rescues the distressed KGB wife and proves once again that good guys—in the CIA—always triumph.

The "analysis" of the Portuguese political scene would not have impressed my socialist host. Virtually everything in *The Portuguese Defection* is either confused or mistaken, although some of this misinformation resembles actual American reportage on Portugal. General readers, of course, have no way of knowing that, along with their usual dose of sex and violence they are being fed explicit (pro-CIA) propaganda.

In earlier Malko books, the CIA's prince has, among other things, saved Henry Kissinger from assassination and has dispatched American guerrillas to oblivion. Economically written, the books are intended for an international mass audience. It is not surprising to hear that a film version of this one is in the works.

The flavor of the books is decidedly European. The stress on the virtues of aristocrats and the cult of blood practiced by Malko's CIA thugs seem more in tune with European fascism than with anything American. American pulp fans desire violence, but they have usually preferred a less ideological brand.

Nevertheless, Malko does sell well in this country, which proves that there is an audience willing to accept politics with its pornography.

—Sidney Blumenthal

Sidney Blumenthal is the editor of *Government by Gunplay* (New American Library).

Without you we're not all that we all can be

You've read about us in *In These Times*.

We're the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. The feisty (we don't always agree with each other on everything), young (just three years old), and fast-growing (from 200 members in 1973 to more than 2,000 today) democratic socialist organization that concluded its national convention in Chicago last month with a call to build a mass movement for full employment. But that really doesn't tell you much.

We're out-of-the-closet socialists, active in the labor, feminist, liberal, and human rights movements. And we're struggling to bring our socialism into the mainstream of American life.

Sure, DSOC members include people like Michael Harrington, Victor Gotbaum, Gloria Steinem, Julian Bond, James Farmer, Lillian Roberts, Victor Reuther and Irving Howe.

But, we're just as proud of some DSOC'ers you haven't heard about. A steelworker in Bridgeport who worked another 40-hour week for Ed Sadlowski. An AFSCME local president who organized clerical workers in Illinois when the experts said it couldn't be done. And tenant organizers, Democratic Party activists, socialist feminists and other people who have tried to meld the day-to-day struggles with their dreams for society. In short, the kind of people who read *In These Times*.

We don't have all the answers for achieving socialism in the center of world capitalism. But we think a first step is bringing together some of the people who elected Jimmy Carter, the trade unionists, the women, the blacks, and the poor. And then demanding that his administration live up to its pledge of full employment. We try to push social progress as far as it will go—from tax reform to income redistribution, from national health insurance to socialized medicine, from economic tinkering to democratic planning.

It will take hard work in the communities, offices, factories, and schools of the '70s and '80s. And, without you, we won't be able to do as much as we could do with you. To flatter ourselves, we've got one thing in common with *In These Times*—we're a beginning. And—like *In These Times*—we could be much more.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
853 Broadway, Rm. 618B, NY, NY 10003/212-260-3270

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

*The *Newsletter of the Democratic Left* takes you ahead of the headlines, and behind the news. The *Newsletter* was the first publication to report on... the Sadlowski insurgency in the Steelworkers Union, the bankers crusade against New York, the struggle against redlining urban neighborhoods, François Mitterand's growing socialist movement in France, and other important national and international developments. If you read *In These Times*, you should read the *Newsletter*, too.

☐ I want to join. Enclosed are my dues (dues include \$5 for a subscription to *Newsletter of the Democratic Left*):
...\$50 sustaining ...\$15 regular
...\$8 student/limited income

☐ I do not want to join now, but I will subscribe to the *Newsletter of the Democratic Left** ...\$10 sustaining
...\$5 regular ...\$2.50 student

☐ Please send me more information about the DSOC.

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of to further your work.

signature _____

FILM

Thieves needs more than stars and one-liners to stay afloat

THIEVES

Directed by John Berry
Screenplay by Herb Gardner from his original play
Starring Marlo Thomas and Charles Grodin, distributed by Paramount

If one-liners did a movie make, then gagwriters could make movies.

Thieves is a collection of one-liners, perpetrated by writer Herb Gardner and director John Berry. (Can't imagine what happened to Berry who did such a tender, funny job with *Claudine* last year!) The poor stars, Marlo Thomas and Charles Grodin, work very hard. They bail and bail, trying to keep the leaky vessel afloat. But it's all too baleful.

Everything remains soggy.

The opening moments of the film hold a promise never fulfilled. The camera pans up the face of a 38 story luxury apartment house on New York's swank East Side. As you pass each jutting terrace, tantalizing swatches of conversation float out from the apartment behind the balcony. A visual demonstration of monumental NO privacy in crowded urban living. It's worth a snicker.

Now for the plot! Sally and Marty Cramer (Marlo Thomas and Charles Grodin) live in the luxury apartment, see, with no furniture, see, because she lost it all while they were moving, see? Lost it? Marty is beginning to think his swinging wife and childhood sweetheart isn't as cute as she once was. You have to agree, seeing as how she didn't really

lose \$55,000 worth of antique furniture (how could young school teachers afford that much stuff?). She sent it to Grand Street (their darling old slum neighborhood) to be kept by a nice old man for a \$2 tip—the idea being to entice her upwardly mobile husband back to their “roots.”

Marty is the principal of the Bluebell School for blue-blazered French-speaking rich kids, having started his own life as a member of a battling street gang on the Lower East Side. Upward mobility? Unbelievable culture vaulting! Marty, incidentally, shows emotional distress, when he feels it, by failing to shave (which also saves acting). Things get pretty grizzly before he feels better.

Also featured in the film is

night-club comedian Irwin Corey, as Sally's 78-year-old, maniac, cab-driver father who shouts homespun wisdom and bad jokes. Decibel for decibel, Corey can get more laughs out of his routines as the “World's Foremost Authority.” And then there's the doorman of the fancy building where the Cramers live who is totally unresponsive to the tenants' comings and goings. Turns out he's dead. Nobody noticed till he falls off his chair onto the street. Hilarious!

Mercedes McCambridge is wasted as an old “shopping bag lady” who hangs around the apartment house ripping off everything that's loose and repossessing what has been consigned to the trash cans.

There is a lot of talk about how



Father Irwin Corey and daughter Marlo Thomas

living in the city is a rip-off anyway. (One of Sally's younger students helps her furnish the empty apartment with things he steals from other tenants in the build-

ing.) But the talk never says anything.

Thieves and the thieves in it are all too bitterly cute.

—Mavis Lyons



ADDITIONS & CORRECTIONS

In the article on *Brothel 8* in last week's issue, the Chicago critic quoted on the film was improperly identified. Christine Nieland is the regular film critic of the *Chicago Daily News*.

Too late for publication with the article, IN THESE TIMES received news of the death, in Japan of Kinuyo Tanaka, the award-winning actress who played the veneral Osaki. She was 70 years old.

IN THESE TIMES

IN THESE TIMES T-SHIRTS FOR SALE: \$5 - Five for \$20. Don't delay folks, we're sure they'll disappear fast. Specify S, M, L, XL.

FUND RAISER: IN THESE TIMES needs an experienced fund raiser to organize fund raising activities, set up sustainer group, and solicit funds from individuals. Salary plus commission. Please call (312) 489-4444 to arrange an interview. 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago IL 60622.

Classified rates:

Display:

Per inch 5.00

Non-display:

Per word .15

(20 word minimum)

DISCOUNTS:

3 insertions 5%

10 insertions 10%

A New Magazine for the 70'S

MOTHER JONES, Finally . . . A Magazine for the Rest of Us

We all grew up in the 60's—one way or another. And how different they were from the 50's. Or the 40's, or the 30's.

We're the generation that got back in touch with our world, in the most basic ways. We rediscovered ourselves. Music opened us up, and took off. The Beatles. The Stones. Dylan.

We found our own literature, with a tough cosmic, comic vision . . . Catch 22. Slaughterhouse Five. Cuckoo's Nest. We identified with a handful of writers. Pynchon. Grass. Barthelme. Vonnegut. Barth.

And the movies became The Cinema . . . from Eisenstein to Chabrol, through re-runs of Casablanca, to Strange-love and The Graduate.

Not just entertainment; it's all part of our lives.

We put our stamp on the world by fighting against Viet Nam, by working in the Peace Corps. And by confronting racism, sexism and militarism. In the process, we also discovered the dark side of the 60's.

MOTHER JONES is a magazine for the rest of us. As veterans of the 60's we explore the alternatives of the 70's. We offer the best in criticism, encouragement, insight and analysis. We report on the successes and failures of community organizers and mass movements.

MOTHER JONES is tough. On polluters, politicians and profiteers. MOTHER JONES is fun. With cartoons and trivia. We bring you the best in cinema, music, books and art. We talk about sexuality, working together, living well on less, buying things that last and much more.

A lot of the best writers in the country are with us. Writers

like Kirkpatrick Sale, Barbara Garson, Roger Rapoport, Vivian Gornick, Max Apple, Eugene Genovese, Margaret Atwood, Herbert Kohl, Robert Lipsyte and dozens more.

MOTHER JONES is a magazine for people who came of age in the 60's and 70's, and have been looking for something like us for a long time.

For a limited time, you can join us as a Charter Subscriber at a substantial savings. We'll start sending you MOTHER JONES and bill you later at just \$8—\$4.00 off the regular rate. Charter Subscribers will always be entitled to the lowest available renewal rates, gift subscriptions and other offers.

Why not take the chance? After all, there's no sense in living the 70's alone.

Charter Offer

YES, start sending MOTHER JONES to me and sign me up as a Charter Subscriber at just \$8—a \$4.00 saving. I understand that, as a Charter Subscriber, I will receive the lowest available prices in perpetuity.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: MOTHER JONES, 1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

Who broke the Hollywood blacklist?

"Trumbo's position was that the producers should be made to see a financial advantage in dropping the whole ridiculous business and not needed into antagonism..."



"I am possibly not the best screenwriter in Hollywood, but I am incomparably the fastest."

Six of the Hollywood Ten.

No single Sampson pulled down the pillars of the blacklist, just as no single Senator from Wisconsin, or chicken-hearted motion picture executive, or committee of Congress was responsible for erecting it in the first place.

It came into being during the worst period of the Cold War (against the Soviet Union) and the hot war (against China) in Korea, in a time when Communist Party officials and members were being jailed under the Smith Act and naturalized radicals and progressives were being deported under the McCarran Act. It ended in a time of comparative peace, when the Smith Act had been rendered inoperative by a series of hard-fought court cases, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities and kindred agencies had been brought to the brink of dissolution by legal and political resistance.

There are at least three quite separate types of action that contributed to the final event, and each is worth at least a few illustrative examples. First, there were the legal actions: suits for breach of contract by writers who had contracts when the blacklist was announced; suits for damages sustained by groups of victims who had no contracts, but could establish a history of employment in the industry prior to the blacklist; even an anti-trust suit that threatened the studios with triple damages for conspiring to restrain trade.

Most of these were successful in the lower courts; most lost on appeal. Some were settled cheaply out of court. The one much-publicized victory on this front was the case of John Henry Faulk who won a judgment not on a challenge to the legality of the blacklist, but on the contention that he had been mistakenly chosen as a victim.

Little is said about these court actions in Cook's book, *Dalton Trumbo*, possibly because Trumbo was not involved and in most instances disapproved of them. Trumbo's position was that the producers should be made to see a financial advantage in dropping the whole "ridiculous business," and not be needed into antagonism toward what was in their own best interest. But with or without Trumbo's approval, the suits went doggedly on, year after year, and they had an effect.

Another type of court battle may have had a more critical effect, although it took a while for it to be evident. That was the legal resistance to direct political persecution that climaxed in the case of the California Communist leaders (convicted under the Smith Act) which was eventually decided in the defendants' favor and effectively ended the suspension of constitutional liberties for political dissenters.

Second, there was a series of actions by members of the professional guilds who had recovered from their panic and regretted their submission to so patently un-American an activity as the blacklist. Instances of Oscars voted to blacklisted writers are noted in Ring Lardner's article on the inner working of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (*ITT*, March 14).

In addition to those Lardner mentions, there are at least two other interesting cases, one involving a second recognition of Michael Wilson. Everyone in the Screen Writers' Guild, if not everyone in the in-

dustry, knew that Wilson had done the screenplay for "The Bridge on the River Kwai" when it was voted Best Picture of 1957. No screenwriter was credited. Pierre Boulle, a French novelist who does not write in English, was listed as the author of the book from which the film was adapted—presumably by actors and director improvising while the film was being shot.

Also, the 1958 award for the best motion picture written directly for the screen went to Harold Jacob Smith and Nathan E. Douglas for *The Defiant Ones*. Hal Smith was known to be "gray-listed" (a status in which one found it difficult to obtain work under one's own name without knowing precisely what offense had

DALTON TRUMBO

By Bruce Cook

Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1976

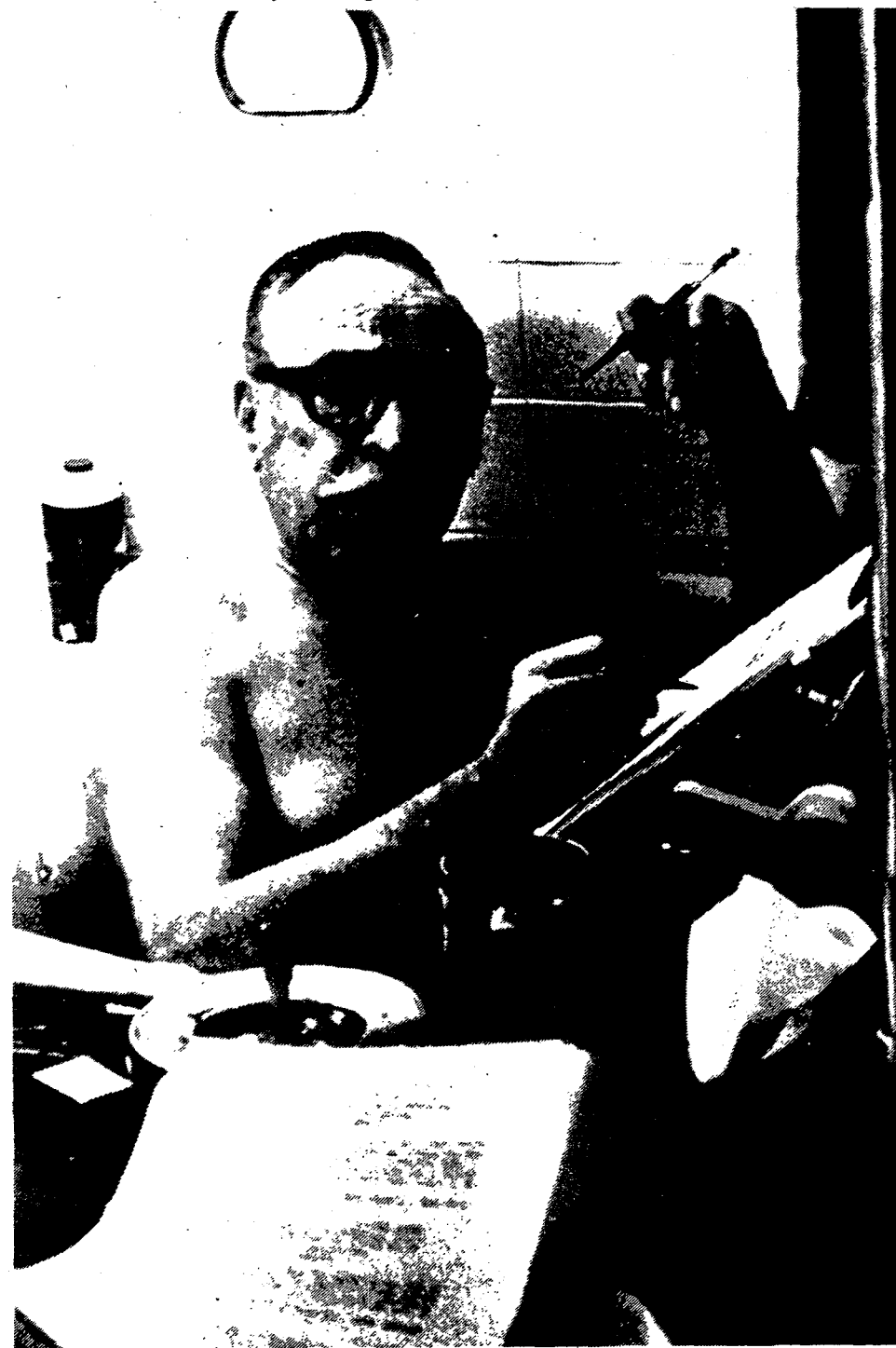
The subtitle of Bruce Cook's *Dalton Trumbo* claims that the book is "a biography of the Oscar-winning screenwriter who broke the Hollywood blacklist." Wrong on two counts. The book is not a biography in either of the senses in which the term is legitimately used; and Trumbo did not break the Hollywood blacklist.

This is not to say that *Dalton Trumbo* is not good reading, or that it does not throw light on the inner workings of the motion picture industry when America's movies dominated the screens of the world, or that it does not add significantly to the history of the making and the breaking of a blacklist that affected all of American

Continued on page 19.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

Trumbo at work. Photo by his daughter, Melissa.



culture in the late '50s and early '60s.

It does, and is all these things—which would be enough, if so much more had not been promised.

What Cook has produced is an extended "profile" of a fascinating man who was completely involved in a fascinating milieu. He has pieced together from interviews with Trumbo, his friends and family members, and from reading masses of Trumbo's correspondence, a real life Horatio Alger story—the meteoric rise from genteel poverty to fabulous fortune of a man who could say of himself that he was "possibly not the best screenwriter in Hollywood, but incomparably the fastest."

Trumbo was an indefatigable—possibly a compulsive—worker, an ingenious solver of plot problems, the sort of doctor who can be called on the shortest of notice to save the life of a failing script. He did not write many original screenplays of distinction. He did write one first-rate anti-war novel (*Johnny Got His Gun*, made into a film by Trumbo himself 30 years after its first publication). He earned the distinction of being the highest paid writer in Hollywood by helping the big studios get films out of trouble.

This lucrative career was cut short by a subpoena to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in connection with its investigation of Communist influence in the motion picture industry. Trumbo and nine other writers and directors called to the witness stand, denied their interrogators' right to question them about their political affiliations. They were cited for contempt of Congress, fought their case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, were denied a hearing there, and served sentences of varying lengths in federal prisons.

In 1947, even before the Hollywood Ten went to jail, the studios instituted a blacklist that made not only them, but all other writers, directors, actors, story editors, and back-lot workers who refused to cooperate with any investigatory arm of the government, unemployable in the industry. Hundreds—possibly thousands—of men and women were victimized. Actors got jobs as bartenders or supported themselves by selling miniature trees or no-run hosiery. A man who had written comedy routines for Abbot and Costello went to work as a paper salesman. A woman who had been nicknamed "the Queen of the Westerns" gave up writing screen plays and opened a public stenographer service. Some, who could not face the economic or the social pressure, turned informer and bought their own security at the expense of their friends'.

It was, as Trumbo put it in a brilliant polemical pamphlet, the *Time of the Toad*.

It is against this backdrop that the story of his one-man battle against the blacklist is played out in Cook's book. It makes a good third act to the Horatio Alger story, but it does not make good history.

There is a lot of interesting and valuable material on the making of the blacklist and on the operation of the black-market that made it possible for some writers

Continued on page 19.